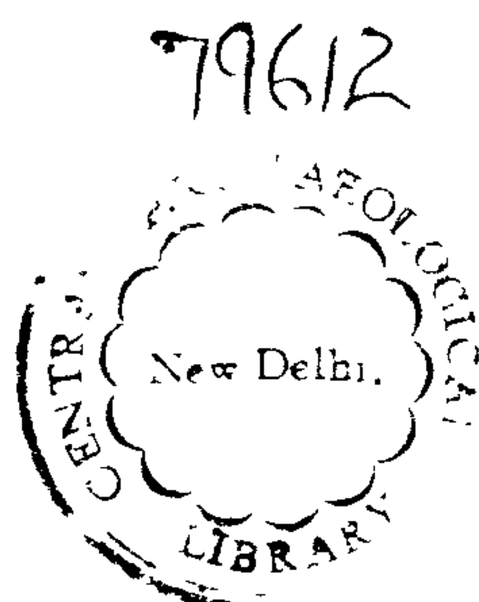


ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Volume XLI

1975-76



EDITED BY
Dr. K.V. RAMESH, M.A., Ph.D.
DIRECTOR (EPIGRAPHY)



PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL,
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA,
NEW DELHI - 110 011.

1989

First Printed : 1989

Price : Rs. 200-00

Printed at Bengal Offset Works, Karol Bagh, New Delhi 110 005
Tel.: 524200 & 510455

EDITORIAL

It has been decided, in consultation with the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, to bring out the arrear volumes of the quarterly journal EPIGRAPHIA INDICA in full volumes instead of issuing them as quarterly parts. Volume XLI, now placed in the hands of scholars, is the arrear volume for 1975-76, covering 8 parts in all which were to have been issued progressively in January, April, July and October of 1975 and 1976. It is hoped that the remaining arrear Volumes will be brought out in the course of next two years.

I record here my grateful thanks to Shri J.P. Joshi, Director General and Shri M.C. Joshi, Addl. Director General, Archaeological Survey of India for the deep sympathy and understanding shown by them towards the Epigraphy branch of the Survey and for their help in overcoming chronic printing problems faced by us. I also wish to record here my grateful thanks to my colleagues, Dr. S.S. Ramachandra Murthy, the then Deputy Superintending Epigraphist, and Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist to whom should go the lion's share of the credit for compiling the present volume and finalising it in record time. Dr. S.S. Ramachandra Murthy, with his customary academic zeal and Dr. M.D. Sampath and Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer have toiled tirelessly with me in editorial work. Shri M.N. Katti, Chief Epigraphist, Dr. M.D. Sampath, Superintending Epigraphist and Dr. S.P. Tewari, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist as also Shri M. Jayarama Sharma now Assistant Director, Institute of Archaeology, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi have helped me in the editing work at different stages and I thank them for the same. Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer corners the credit for preparing the entire illustration material. The preparation of the typescript for the Press has been done under the expert supervision of Shri P. Natarajan, Stenographer. To these gentlemen in particular and to those who have enriched this volume through their learned contributions, I owe a deep debt of gratitude.

I am beholden to Shri J.C. Gupta, Production Officer, Archaeological Survey of India, who has master-minded the scheme for clearing the arrers of epigraphical publications in reasonable time and rendered immense help in the speedy publication of this volume.

K.V. RAMESH
Director (Epigraphy)

17.8.1989

CONTENTS

A. Articles

B. Authors

(The names of the contributors are arranged alphabetically)

C. Plates



EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL XLI 1975-76

No. 1 – PĀRTHIVAPURAM INSCRIPTION OF (KOLLAM) YEAR 98+1

(1 Plate)

K.G. Krishnan, Mysore

This inscription is engraved on the base of the north pial in front of the Vishnu temple at **Pārthivapuram**, a village five miles south-east of Kuḻitturai, the headquarters of the Vilavangodu Taluk in Kanyakumari District, Tamil Nadu. This area was till recently a part of Kerala and was subsequently transferred to Tamil Nadu. The inscription is important enough to be considered as the earliest document dated in Kollam Era. The era is not referred to in the inscription. But we have reiterated here the reasons for considering the same as belonging to the Kollam Era, even as it was considered so by its previous editor Shri Gopinatha Rao in the *Travancore Archaeological Series* (Volume I, pp. 287-88 and plate).

The inscription begins with a **Sanskrit** verse in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre engraved in **Grantha characters**. This is followed by a prose passage in **Tamil** engraved in **Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters**. Both the Grantha and Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters may be assigned to the tenth century. The published text has been compared with the facsimile and a fresh reading of the text is reproduced at the end of this article.

The opening verse in Sanskrit forming the first two lines of the inscription states that **Nārāyana**, a Brahmādhirāja made a gift of 1) two lamps for the deity of Pārthivasēkharapuram and 2) twelve *ghaṭas* of paddy for being offered to Śārṅgin i.e., Vishṇu on the day of Punarvasu star in the month of Āshāḍha and for feeding students.

The Tamil section from line 3 of the inscription begins with the date expressed simply as the year opposite to the ninety-eighth year. Therefore the date should be reckoned as ninety-ninth year as other double dates are understood. Then follows the statement that Pañchavan Brahmādhirājan *alias* Kumaraṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ of Iḍaikkuḷattūr in Tūmā-nāḍu arranged for the burning of two perpetual lamps for the (deity) Bhaṭṭārakar of Pāttivaśēkara (Pārthiva-śēkhara) purar This endowment was to be maintained, the inscription says, by two persons Kannan Māṇikkan and Pāgaṉ-Chivīndravan, both described as

padaittalaivan, who took charge, each, of seven buffaloes undertaking in turn to supply 3/8 *(ulakk-ālākku)* measure, apparently, of clarified butter measured by the standard full measure of the kitchen *(madaippalli)*. The buffaloes are described as those that do not die or become aged. This statement is followed by another to the effect that Kāman Cheṅgōḍan, a potter of Pārthivaśēkharapuram, his younger brothers and nephews were required to maintain the shrine *(ambalam)*, the entrance-porch *(vāyil-mādam)* and the covered halls along the circumambulatory passage *(churru-mandapa)* out of the interest accruing from six *karuṅkāśu* of Ceylon (Īḻam), apparently given by the donor. Last comes the statement about the feeding of students with the endowment of 12 *kalam* of paddy probably on the day of Punarpūśa *(Punardam)* in the month of Ādi. The last line containing this statement is engraved faintly in such small characters that not much can be made of it now.

The Tamil section begins with the date expressed as the year opposite to the 98th year without specifying the era in which the year is to be reckoned. We have to explore other means of finding this out. It is obvious that this could not be the regnal year of any king because no king is known to have ruled upto such a long period as 99 years. The characters of the record belong to the tenth century as already pointed out. A comparison of this inscription with those that belong to this period will bring this out. There is another inscription at Pārthivapuram, the findspot of the present record, in Tamil language and Vaṭṭeluttu characters.[1] It is dated in the reign of Parakēsarivarman Vīraśōlap-perumānadigal. Due to the broken condition of the stone the regnal year is lost. The king has been identified with Vīrarājēndraśōḷa. This is not correct. The palaeography is not as late as the reign of that king falling within the third quarter of the eleventh century. Further Vīrarājēndra was a Rājakēsari while the king is described as a Parakēsari in this record.[2] Therefore, the king Parakēsari Vīraśōḷa of this record must be identified with Parāntaka who was a Parakēsari and was also known as Vīrachōḷa. Parāntaka is known to have extended his control over the south, at least in or before his 33rd year i.e., 939-40 A.D. as attested to by his Ānaimalai inscription.[3] His records are known to exist at Śuchīndram not far away from Pārthivapuram.[4] The present record can therefore be compared with that of Vīrachōḷa also from the same place. It will be seen that the letters are almost alike, there being practically no difference. The ends of letters *ta*, *ṇa*. etc. are not yet connected. It is known that in the subsequent period the forms combine and make a full circle. Therefore, the present record cannot be far removed in point of time from that of Vīrachoḷa. Therefore, the

1. *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, Text, pp. 295-96 and plate facing p. 291.
2. The letter *ra* before the expression *kērsari* is clear on the facsimile.
3. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 239 ff.
4. Above, Vol. V, pp. 41-48.

date 940 A.D. sets the later limit for the date of our record. The earlier limit for the present record can also be set by a study of the local evidence. Pārthivapuram is called Pārthivaśēkharapuram in the inscriptions. The Huzur office plates of the king Karunandadakkan of the Āy dynasty dated the 15th day in the 9th year of his reign equated to the 1449087th day from the commencement of the Kali Era record the construction of a temple, the installation of the deity Vishṇu-bhaṭṭārakar and the naming of the area around the temple as Pārthivaśēkharapuram. This Kali day falls on April 28, A.D. 869.[1] The present record registers a grant to Vishṇu-bhaṭārar of the place, undoubtedly identical with the deity consecrated by the Āy king in 869 A.D., as found in the Huzur office plates. Therefore, the year 99 given in the present record should be placed in a date that falls after 869 A.D. Since there is no reference to any era based on the foundation of the temple in this inscription, as a few inscriptions of Kēraḷa do, this year 99 may be reckoned in the Kollam Era, which was the only system current locally. Hence, the date of the record is 923 A.D. Thus this date falls in the 54th year from the date of the foundation of the Pārthivapuram temple i.e. 869 A.D.

No details of date are given, therefore the exact date of the record cannot be ascertained. But the grant is made for an offering on every Punarvasu day of the month of Āshāḍha, according to the prefatory verse in Sanskrit, and on Āḍip-Puṇardam according to the Tamil text. The day of Puṇardam in the month of Āḍi in the year 923 A.D., corresponds to July 15 which was a Tuesday and to Kaṟkaṭaka 21, in Kollam 99. This day falls also in the lunar month of Āshāḍha. We should note that the Sanskrit name 'Karkataka' for the solar month of Tamil Āḍi was not used, though we cannot comment upon the reason for this in the present state of our knowledge.

The donor is referred to as Nārāyaṇa, a *brahmādhirāja* in the Sanskrit verse. The Tamil section gives additional details about him. His full name was Kumaraṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ ; Kumaraṉ was obviously his father's name. His title *Pañchavaṉ-brahmādhirājaṉ* conveys two ideas. Firstly the word panchavaṉ is known to us to be a title of the Pāṇḍyas, thus suggesting that the donor was a high officer under the Pāṇḍyas and that he had adopted the title or was conferred with the same as a mark of his devoted subordination to the then Pāṇḍya king. Such instances are not unknown to us. In fact there was another person bearing the same title Panchavan-brahmādhirājaṉ and having the name Chēndaṉ-Chāttaṉ hailing from Nellittoḷa in Malaināḍu i.e. Kērala.[2] The donor of the present record belonged to Idaikkulattūr in Tūmā-nāḍu.

Since the donor happens to be a high-ranking officer under the Pāṇḍyas, it is not unlikely that the region including Pārthivapuram, where this officer was possibly

1. I prefer this date to the ones already suggested for this by (1) Gopinath Rao as 855 A.D., (2) Sewell as 858 A.D., June 23, and (3) Ilaṅgulam Kunjan pillai as 866 A.D., June 22 *(Chila Kēraḷa Charitra-praśnaṅgaḷ*, p.95). These will be examined elsewhere.
2. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIV, No. 19.

present in 923 A.D. to make the grant, was under the influence of Rājasimha, the contemporary Pāṇḍya king. It coincides with the 21st year in his reign, almost towards the end of his reign after which he had to flee to Ceylon and then to Kēraḷa for help.

The donor is described as being adored by many good qualities and as a man of intellect. One of the gifts made by him is the provision made for feeding students. It is easy to see the connection between this particular endowment, the donor and the place. For, we know from the Huzur office plates that Pārthivaśēkharapuram had a flourishing school *(śālai)* of Vedic studies with 95 students distributed among the three Vedic divisions of Paviḻiyam (Ṛik), Taittirīyam (Yajuś) and Talavakāra (Sāman) founded in 869 A.D. by Karunandaḍakkaṉ. We are also informed that this school was fashioned after the one at Kāndaḷūr.[1] It is obvious that this feeding endowment made by the brāhmaṇa donor must have been made in connection with this *śālai* which might have continued to flourish on the date of this record i.e. Kollan 99. The use of the word *Chhātra* (Prakrit or Tamil *Chaṭṭar)* in the Sanskrit preamble of the inscription is significant.

The prefatory Sanskrit verse describes this feeding as *uttamāgram.* This word is met with a large number of early Chōḷa inscriptions.[2] It seems to mean the best (food supplied) to the most deserving. The recipients of this food were mostly brāhmaṇas well-versed in the *Vēdas* or Śivayogis. It seems to imply also a full-scale meal as detailed in a similar inscription.[3] It consisted of two measures of pounded rice, quarter measure each of ghee and dal, plain vegetable one dish and specified vegetable one dish, *akkāravaṭṭu* (sweetened rice) preparation two, two plantain fruits, fried vegetable one dish, curd one measure, 10 betel leaves and 4 betel nuts all for one person at a time.

Kumaraṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ *alias* Panchavaṉ-brahmādhirāja made a gift of 14 buffaloes of which seven were entrusted to Kaṇṇaṉ Māṇikkaṉ and the other seven to Pāgañ-Chivīndravaṉ. Both were required each to measure daily 3/8 *(uḻakkāḻākku)* of a measure of clarified butter for burning two perpetual lamps to be measured by the standard measure kept in the kitchen. Both are designated as *Paḍaittalaivaṉ.* As against the usual practice of entrusting the animals meant for such endowments to shepherds called *maṉṟāḍi* or tenants called *kuḍi,* this term had been used in a considerable number of inscriptions in the Pāṇḍya country.[4] *Paḍaittalaivaṉ* means the head of (a regiment of an) army. It is possible that these persons who were active in the war-

1. See our article on *'Caṭṭāṇam maḍham* – its identification' in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute,* M.S. University of Baroda, Vol. XIX, pp. 346-50, for more details about this famous institution
2. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 16, 27, 33 and 44.
3. *Ibid*., No. 91.
4. See *A.R.Ep.*, 1958-59, B Nos. 496, 498 and 499.

field were occasionally engaged in peace times in such civil functions of acting as trustees of endowments.[1] We meet also with cases of endowments involving other forms of wealth such as land or money associated with persons in the army. The *sēnaiyār* of Tiruviḍaimarudūr were entrusted with a 6 *karuṅkāśu* for providing the deity with the tender cocoanuts after midday food.[2] The word Chivīndravaṉ in the name of the second of these two persons obviously stands for Śuchīndravaṉ of which the other is the local form as attested to by records from that place itself.[3]

The Tamil portion of the inscription records an endowment not mentioned in the Sanskrit verse. It states that the donor gave six *īḻak-karuṅ-kāśu* as capital to provide for works of repair *(aḻivu)* in the shrine *(ambalam)*, the entrance porch *(vāyil-māḍam)* and covered halls in the circumambulatory passages *(chuṟṟu-maṇḍapam)*. This responsibility was entrusted to a porter *(vēṭkōvaṉ)* Kāmaṉ Cheṅgōḍaṉ by name, his brothers and nephews. The word *ambalam* is found used also in nearby contemporary inscriptions in the east coast in Tamil Nadu in the sense of a hall which was used for the purpose of conducting the meetings of the local assemblies or to receive the paddy contributed to the temple.[4] But it is doubtful whether the same sense is conveyed here. For, a provision generally made for the upkeep of a temple could not exclude the main shrine. It is known that even today this word is used in Kēraḷa in the wider sense of a temple while it is not at all in use in Tamil Nadu. *Vāyil-māḍam* evidently stands for the entrance, the approach to which is covered and provided with two raised platforms on its either side. This is typical of, nearly, all the medieval temples in Kēraḷa. The platforms are sometimes seen also extending from the entrance into the *prākāra* and they are being used by the people rendering services such as flowers, sandal paste, playing of musical instruments,etc. The *chuṟṟu-maṇḍapam* refers to the pavilions erected in the circumambulatory passages outside the central shrine.

The inscription calls the place Pārthivaśēkharapuram now shortened to Pārthivapuram. This name was first given to the locality around the temple where it is engraved, by Karunandaḍakkaṉ in 869 A.D. The locality was called, according to his Huzur office plates, uḻakkuḍi-viḷai which consisted of an area with some cultivated fields. The *sabhai* of Muṉchiṟai is said to have owned it. It was taken from them in exchange for some other land, measure for measure. This land on which the temple was erected is stated to be situated within the limits of Paśuṅgaḷam, rightly identified with Paingulam, a mile south of Parthivapuram.[5] The entire region is stated to fall

1. K.K. Pillay, *The Suchindram Temple*, 1953, p. 257. See also *A R.Ep.*, 1958-59, Introduction, p. 16, for other reference.
2. *Ibid*, XIII No. 38.
3. Pillay, *op cit.*, p 100.
4. *S I I* Vol. XVII, Nos. 466, 475 and 492.
5. Note the analogy of *paimpoṉ* for *pasumpoṉ* See *T A S.*, Vol. I, p. 5.

within the division of Muḍāla-nāḍu, apparently so called after Muḍālam now met with in the names of two modern places called Mēl-Miḍālam and Kīḻ-Miḍālam. Iḍaikkuḷattūr in Tūmā-nāḍu cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge.

TEXT

1 Svasti Śrī [||] Datvā pārthiva-pūrvva-śēkhara-purē dēvāya. dīpa-dvayam praty-Āshāḍha Punarvvasum punar=adād=vṛīhīn=gha

2 ṭā[n=d]vādaśa[1] [|*] Chhātrēbhyaḥ punar=uttamāgram=adadān=**Nārāyaṇaś**=Śārṅgi-ṇaḥ prītyai sadguṇa-bhūshaṇas=s[va] - vibhavam Brahmādhirājas=sudhīḥ [||*]

3 Toṉ-ṉūṟṟeṭṭām=āṇḍiṉ edi[r=ā*]m=āṇḍu **Pāttivaśēkharapurattu** bha[2] paṭṭārakarkku Tūmā-nāṭṭu Iḍaikkuḷat–

4 tūr Pañchavaṉ-Brahmādhirājaṉ=āyiṉa Kumaraṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ amaichcha tiru–ḷakku iraṇḍu [||*] iraṇḍilum-o-

5 ṉṟukku paḍaittalaivaṉ Kaṇṇaṉ Māṇikkaṉ kaiyyil aḍutta erumai ēḻu [|*] ivaiyiṟṟāl maḍaippaḷḷiyāl-u-

6 ḷakk-āḻākkum paḍaittalaivaṉ Pāgañ-Chivīndravaṉ kaiyyil aḍutta erumai ēḻu [|] ivaiyiṟṟāl tirunonda vi-

7 ḷakkukku maḍaippaḷḷi nāḻiyāl uḻakk-āḻākku [|*] ivaiy chāgā-mūvāp-pēr-erumai [|⁻∵ 'Iiur Vēṭkōvaṉ Kā[maṉ]

8 Chengōḍaṉum tambimāru marumakkaḷum ambalamum vāyil-māḍamuñ=chuṟ[ṟu] maṇḍa[pamum] a.. āga

9 k-koṇḍa īlak-karuṅ-kāśu āṟu āṟuṅ-koṇḍu ivv-achchin poliyāl aḻivu śelak-kaḍavar [|*] Āḍip-Punarddati=nāḷ[3]

10 paṉṉirukala nell[4] ....

---

1. Read daśān.

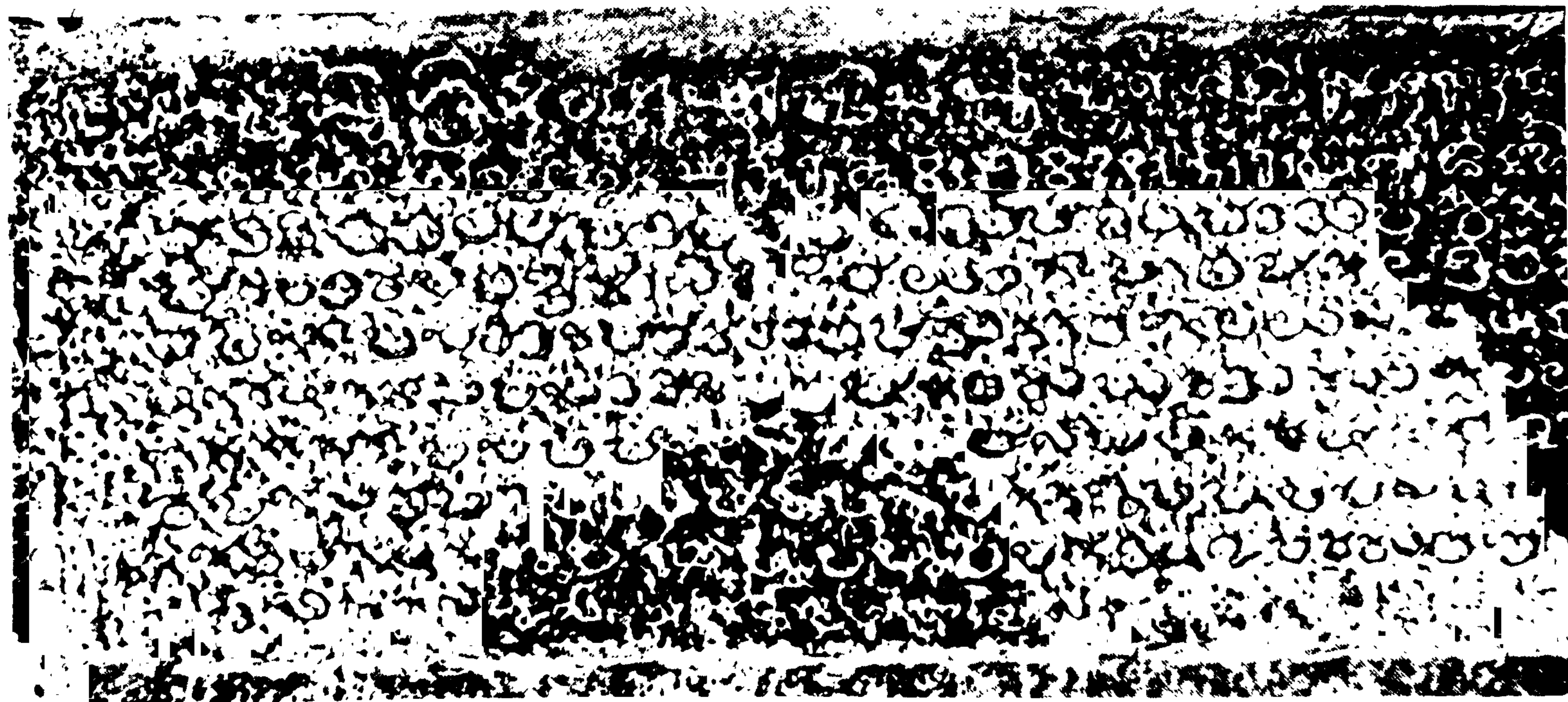
2. The word was originally intended to be written in Grantha but immediately after writing 'bha', the scribe has written in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters.

3. Major portion of this line has not been read in the text published in *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 287-88 and plate.

4. There are a few letters, seen after this passage, which do not admit of any sensible reading. The reading (*Ibid*) '*śālaiyuḷ-amai .. l śā ..*' is not clear.

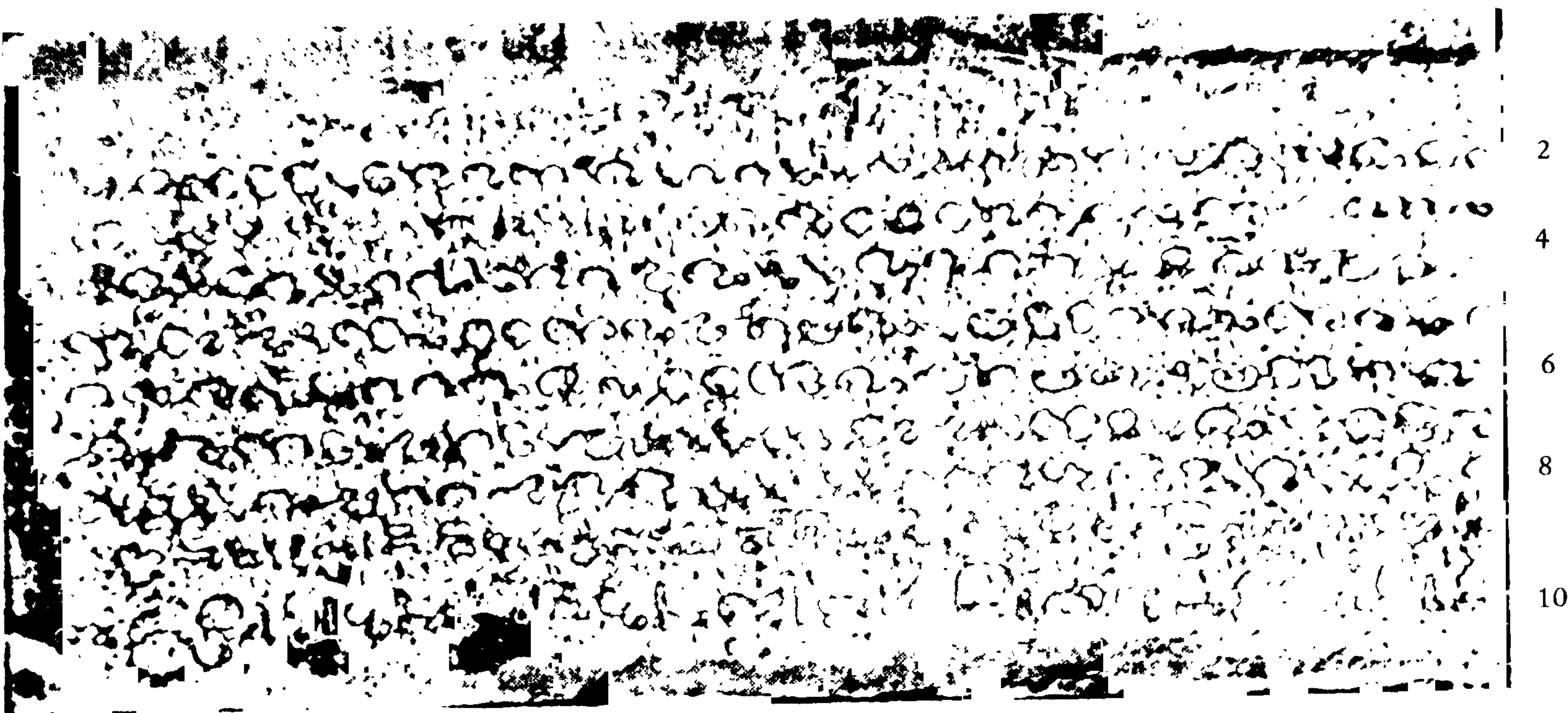
PĀRTHIVAPURAM INSCRIPTION OF KOLLAM YEAR 98 + 1

Left Half



K.V. Ramesh

Right Half



From Photograph

NO. 2 – ŚĀRṄGAPURAM GRANT OF THE TIME OF KĀKATĪYA GAṆAPATI, ŚAKA 1176

(3 Plates)

S.S. Ramachandra Murthy, Mysore

The copper plate charter edited, here, with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was noticed in the *Annual Report for South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1936-37 as No. A 5. The text and translation have been already published by Butterworth and Venugopalachetty in their *Nellore District Inscriptions,* Vol. I, pp. 137 ff. without any plates. Since some serious mistakes were committed by them while editing the grant it is proposed to re-edit the same in the following pages.

The exact findspot of the copper plate record is not known. However, this is stated to have been received from the Deputy Tahsildar of Darsi Taluk in Nellore District. This is a set of 5 thick copper plates measuring 26 cms by 13.8 cms and strung together by a ring passing through a ring hole about 1.9 cms in diameter at the left margin of the plates. The ring is about 1.3 cms thick and measures about 10 cms in diameter. Its ends are soldered to the bottom of an oval seal and on its counter sunk surface is the figure of a lion in high relief, standing with its right foreleg upraised and facing proper right. The set weighs 3,638 gms with the ring and seal and 3,148 gms without them. The plates are numbered, the respective numbers being engraved in the left margin of the second side of each plate. In the left margin of the first side of the first plate are engraved a *chakra,* the letter *Śrī* in Telugu-Kannaḍa characters and a *varāha,* one below the other and in that order. Again towards the end of the 6th line and at the commencement of the 7th line of the innerside of the fifth and last plate are engraved respectively the figures of a *chakra* and a *varāha.* The writing is well preserved except on two sides of the first plate wherein the size of the letters is comparatively smaller and the written surface is somewhat worn out.

The **characters** belong to the **Telugu** of the 13th century and are regular for the period to which the charter belongs. Of the **palaeographical** features the following deserve mention. The sign for medial *ā* is engraved in two ways. In some instances it runs in line with the head-mark as in *vitaratādāchakravāḷam* (line 1), Kāma-dēva (line 39), etc. and in some other cases it is attached as a separate sign to the completed head mark of the letter as can be seen, for example, in *yathā, Kāmanō* and *Kauśika* in lines 2, 32 and 34 respectively. The letter *ḍa* is written in two forms, one in regular way (eg. lines 12, 28, 31, 33, 40, 42, etc.) and the other like the letter *ḷ* of the 10th-11th century (eg. lines 57-59, 63, 66, 73, etc.). This latter type of *ḍ* occurs in many inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅga rulers belonging to the 12th-13th centuries.

The letter *bh* also is engraved in two ways; in some cases the two side lines of *bh*, which take a curve at the bottom, are not joined (*egs.* lines 4, 6-8, 10-12, 15 etc.) while in some cases these two lines are joined at the bottom with a slight dent (eg. lines 4, 8, 22, 43 etc.). The letter *ḥ* is indicated by adding a broad hook-like stroke, bending downwards to the right side of the letter *p*.

As regards **orthography** the following peculiarities are observed. Doubling of the consonant following the *rēpha* is noticed only in some instances (eg. *sarvvalōka,* line 6, *sarvvāḥ,* line 18, *āryya,* line 27) (Contra : *kirir = viśvasmai* (line 1), *bhūpatir = Mahādēva* (line 8), etc., where this doubling is not seen). It may be noted that in some cases the *sandhi* rules were not followed as in *prabhāvataḥ sarvvalōka,* line 6; *bhuvanapatiḥ svayaṁ, nṛipatiḥ sutō,* line 7, *tējaḥ svāmya,* line 23. The expression *tasya purākṛita tapasāṁ prabhāvataḥ* (line 6) is not a happy construction.[1] The word *Śārṅga-* is consistently written as *Śāmrga* (lines 15, 17, 23). *Nairiti* is, in all cases, written as *nairṛiti* thus revealing the influence of local pronunciation (lines 53, 62).

The copper plate inscription under discussion is couched in **Sanskrit** verse throughout except while delineating the boundaries where **Telugu** prose is used. The composition is not of a high order and in some cases metres are also defective.

This grant is **dated Śaka 1176,** expressed both in numerals as well as in chronogram *(rasa-mun-īśāna),* **Ānaṁda, Tapasya (Phālguna) śu. 10, Monday** corresponding to **1255 A.D., February 17, Wednesday** (not Monday).[2]

The importance of the charter lies in the fact that it introduces a hitherto unknown chief **Śārṅgadhara** of Śālaṅkāyana-gōtra who was ruling over **Addaṁki** as the subordinate of **Kākatīya Gaṇapati** (1199-1262 A.D.).

The copper plate grant opens with an invocation to the Boar incarnation of Lord Vishṇu (verse 1, lines 1-4). In the next verse it refers to the Kākatīya king **Prōla** who is described as *Kalikāla-Balirāja* (lines 4-6). The third verse refers to his son **Mahādēva** (lines 6-8). The next three verses describe Gaṇapati, son of Mahādēva in general terms (lines 8-14). Verses 8 to 10 introduce the chief Śārṅgadhara as the bee who finds happiness in the pollen of the lotus feet of his propitiatory deity, Gaṇapati *(tach-charaṇa-kamala-sēvā-parāga-paritushṭa-mānasa- bhramaraḥ).* He is stated to be the grandson of **Śārṅgadhara** and the son of **Mādhava-nṛipati.** He belonged to the

1. This has been done obviously to suit the metre.
2. The engraver has probably wrongly engraved *Sōma* for *Saumya.*

Śālaṅkāyana-gōtra and he was the lord of Addaṁki (lines 14-19). Verse 11 gives the date, the details of which are already given above (lines 19-20). The purport of the charter, *viz.*, grant of the village **Śārṅgapura** to (forty-six) *brāhmaṇas* along with money *(sadakshiṇaṁ)* for the merit of his overlord *(svasvāmi) i.e.,* Kākatīya Gaṇapati, is recorded in the subsequent three verses (lines 20-24). The next verse is in the nature of imprecation (lines 20-24). This is followed by the details of the donees (lines 26-42) which can be tabulated as follows:

	Name of the Donee	*Gōtra*
1.	Śrīdhara	Śrīvatsa
2.	Kommana	Do.
3.	Kosaneya	Do.
4.	Muppana	Hārita
5.	Kēśava	Do.
6.	Anaṁta	Do.
7.	Perumāḍi	Do.
8.	Rēmaṇa	Do.
9.	Viṭhṭhala	Do.
10.	Pēkana	Do.
11.	Raṅganātha	Do.
12.	Kēśava	Do.
13.	Māraya	Do.
14.	Prōlidēva	Do.
15.	Nāgadēva	Do.
16.	Māraya	Do.
17.	Ellaya	Śāṇḍilya
18.	Kommana	Do.
19.	Muttana	Do.
20.	Dēvana	Do.
21.	Āditya	Kauṇḍinya
22.	Svāmidēva	Do.
23.	Kāmana	Do.
24.	Māraya	Do.
25.	Veṁnaya	Do.
26.	Bōlaya	Do.
27.	Prōlaya	Kauśika
28.	Dēvana	Do.
29.	Prōlidēva	Do.
30.	Kēśava	Do.

Name of the Donee	*Gōtra*
31. Dōnaya	Bhārgava
32. Kommana	Kāśyapa
33. Kēśava	Do.
34. Sūrana	Do.
35. Rebbana	Bhāradvāja
36. Rēmana	Do.
37. Nāgadēva	Do.
38. Kommana	Ātrēya
39. Tammena	Gautama
40. Bōlaya	Do.
41. Errapōta	Do.
42. Kāmadēva	Vishṇuvṛiddha
43. Bappana	Śāṇḍilya
44. Māraya	Hārita
45. Nārāyaṇa	Kuṇḍina
46. Sūrana	Do.

It is further stated that all the (forty-six) donees are to enjoy equal shares in the village. Out of these, three persons ending with the number forty two viz. Bōlaya, Errapōta and Kāmadēva were given non-transferable shares *(niśchala-bhāginaḥ)* while Boppanārya who bears the designation *madhyastha* was also to enjoy half share from each of the two groups *(dvayēshv-ardhārdha-bhāk)* (lines 44-45).[1] Thus each donee gets a *kshētra* measuring one *gōcharma.* It is very interesting to note that the actual measurement of a *gōcharma* is given as follows : each *daṇḍa* (measuring rod) was ten hands long. Land measuring 30 such *daṇḍas* was one *nivartana.* Ten such *nivartanas* went into the making of a *gōcharma.* This gives us an idea about the minimum extent of cultivable land *(kshētra)* lying in that village. This is followed by the details of the boundaries of the gift-village in Telugu prose. A few villages and ponds apart from the rivers Guṇḍlakamma and Chilakalēru are mentioned in this connection. Lines 71-73 specify that the land granted to the brāhmaṇas lay in the villages Lañjepāḍu and Pina-Kruṁkupāḍu and that, because this land was not sufficient to distribute among all the donees , some land was additionally given in the village Mogaliguṁḍāla also. It

1. The terms *sama-bhāga* and *niśchala-bhāga* appear to have been used in this record in a technical sense. While *niśchala-bhāga* clearly means 'a non-transferable share', i.e., a property which cannot be sold or otherwise negotiated, *sama-bhāga* by implication means, in its primary sense, 'an equal share' and in its extended sense 'a share which can be sold or otherwise transferred'. It is thus apparent that while the term *sama-bhāga* as applied to all the forty-six shares primarily meant equal share in the case of the three donees whose shares are described as *niśchala-bhāga*, the power to sell or transfer their respective shares was not vested in them. Boppanārya, who receives the designation of *madhyastha,* was singled out for an equal share half of which was not negotiable while the other half was.

means that the village Śārṅgapura which comprised the gift-land was created by uniting the villages Lañjepāḍu, Pina-Kruṅkupāḍu and a portion of Mogaliguṇḍāla. Verses 29 to 34, which follow this, are in the nature of imprecation. The last verse describes the donees as well-versed in *Kalpa, Vyākaraṇa, Tarka* and *Nīti* and states that to such *brāhmaṇas* the chief *Chakranārāyaṇa,* i.e., Śārṅgadhara, gave away the village Śārṅgapura.

As has been stated above this is the only record which refers to the chief Śārṅgadhara (II), son of Mādhava and grandson of Śārṅgadhara (I) and belonging to the Sālaṅkāyana-gōtra. This chief must have been administering the region around Addaṅki as a subordinate of Kākatīya Gaṇapati. The gift village Śārṅgapura, which the chief donated for the merit of his overlord, is obviously named after himself.

The following are the **geographical names** which occur in this charter : **Guṇḍlakamma** and **Chilakalēru** are two rivulets flowing across certain parts of the present Guntur district and are known by the same name even today. Of the villages mentioned in the grant, **Addaṅki, Anumanaṁgūru, Gārelakuṁṭa, Bommaramu, Māṇḍukēśvaramu, Naṁnūru** and **Pinna-Kruṁkupāḍu** are identical with Addanki, Anamanamūru, Gārlapāḍu, Bommanaṁpāḍu, Māṇikēśvaram, Nannūrupāḍu and Karuṅkupāḍu respectively, all situated in modern Ongole Taluk in Prakasam District, Andhra Pradesh. The remaining villages viz., **Laṁjepāḍu, Nelapāḍu, Kshētramupāḍu** and **Mogaliguṁḍāla** cannot be identified on a modern map.

TEXT

[Metres : Verse 1, 35 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita;* verses 2-10 *Āryā;* verses 11-34 *Anushṭubh]*

First Plate : First Side[1]

1 Ōṁ || Svasti śrī - Dharaṇī-dharō vitaratād = āchakravāḷam kirir=viśvasmai

2 vasudhā-vadhū-priya-varaḥ sas=tāṁ jagāṁsur=mudā | tasyai sviya –

3 viśāla-kōmala-sitāṁ daṁshṭrām=arishṭ-āpahāṁ kētakyāḥ kusumaṁ

4 yath =ātisubhagam | kurvvan = purōpāyanaṁ(nam) || [1 ||*] Śri- **Kākati**-kula-tila-

5 kaḥ **Prōlaya**-bhūpō=ti viśrutō lōkē | Kalikāla-Balirājaḥ kēvala-

6 m=ev=aisha gīyatē kavibhiḥ || [2 ||*] Tasya purākṛita-tapasāṁ prabhāvataḥ sarvvalō-

1. From impressions.

7 ka-tapasā cha |[1] samajāyata bhuvana-patiḥ svayam=iva nṛipatiḥ sutō

8 **Mahādēvaḥ** || [3||*] Nūnaṁ svayam=ēv=āsau bhuvanapatir=bhūpatir=Mahā-

9 dēvaḥ | nō chēd=**Gaṇapatidēvaḥ** katham=iva tasya svayaṁ sutō bhūyāt || [4 ||*] U-

10 ditē Gaṇapati-nṛipatau kalānidhāv=amṛita-mūrttau cha |[2] udamīlad=akhila-bhu-

11 vanaṁ kaira[va[3]]m=iva kumuda-bāṁdhavē=bhyuditē || [5 ||*] Nō laṁbamānam= udaraṁ

12 naiv=āsya janō dvijihvājana-bhāvaḥ |[4] na cha vaktram=asya tuṁḍaṁ Gaṇapatir=i-

13 ty=uchyatē janaiś=chitraṁ(traṁ)| ||[6 ||*] Arthi-jan-ārtha-vidhānāt=pratyarthy-arthōpanāyanā-

First plate : Second Side

14 ch=ch=api | narapati-gaṇa-pālanatō nūnam=asau Gaṇapati[s*]=svayaṁ dēvaḥ || [7 ||*] Tach=charaṇa-kama-

15 la-sēvā-parāga-paritushṭa-mānasa-bhramaraḥ | **Śāṁrgadhara**[5] -vara-tanūjaḥ karuṇā-

16 nidhir=asti **Mādhavō** nṛipatiḥ || [8 ||*] **Addaṁki**-pur-ēśād=atas=tanūjō=jani praj-ē-

17 śānaḥ | Śālaṁkāyana-gōtraś= **Śāṁragadharaḥ**[6] śatru-śāsanaḥ suyaśāḥ || [9 ||*] Api sarvva-

18 lōka-pāla-prabhāva-saṁbhāvitaḥ prajāḥ sarvvāḥ | ānaṁdayann=ajasraṁ dvija-rājaḥ

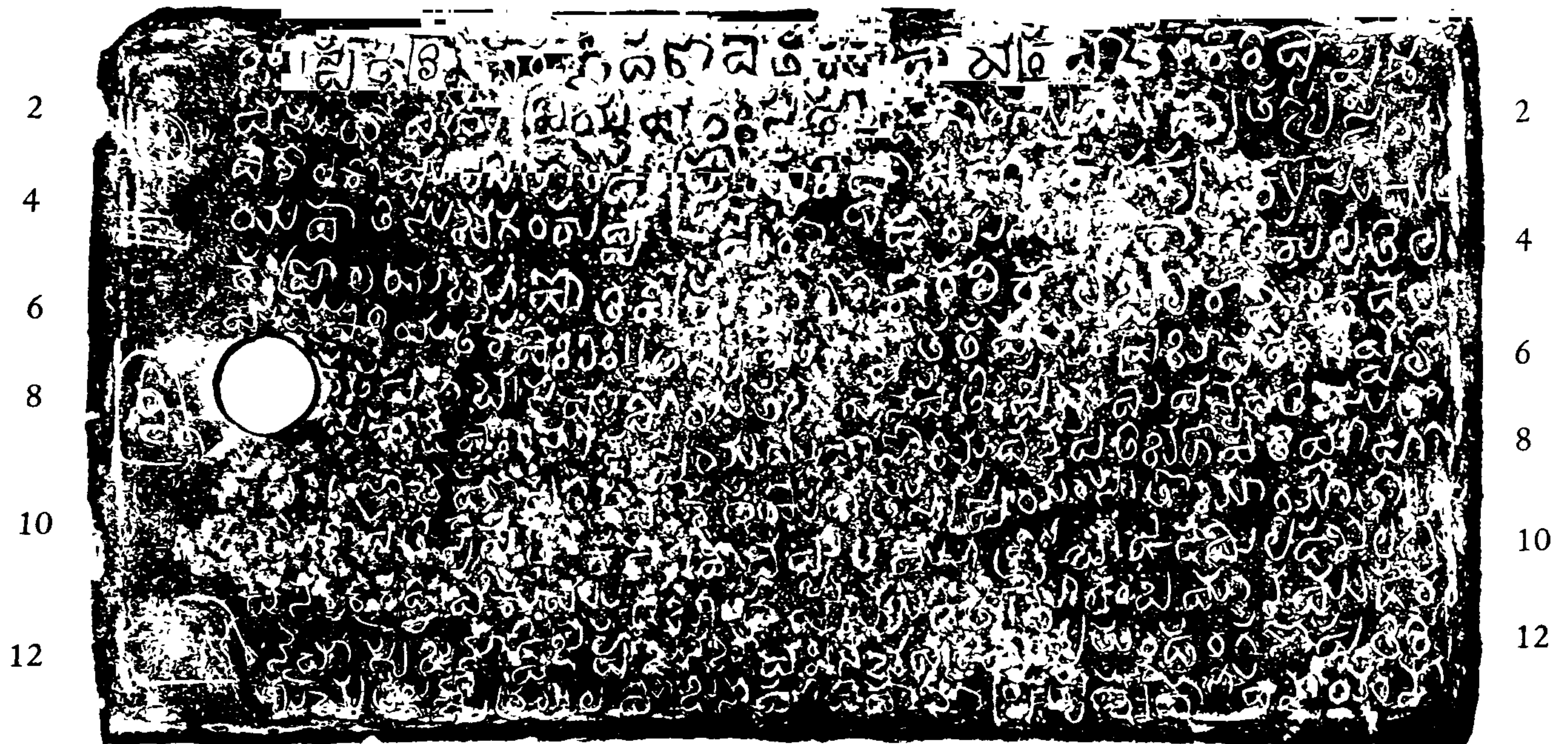
19 kīrtyatē sadā tābhiḥ || [10 ||*] **Śākē rasa-mun-īśānē 1176 gaṇit-Ānaṁda-vatsarē** | **Tapa-**

---

1. Here metre is defective.
2. Here metre is defective in that four *laghus* or two *gurus* are wanting to complete the second stanza.
3. The letter *va* is engraved below the line under the letter *mi*.
4. Here metre is wrong in that the second half of the stanza contains one *mātrā* extra.
5. *NDI* wrongly reads as *Śaurisuvara*. Read *Śārṁgadhara*-
6. Read *Śārṁgadharaḥ*.

ŚĀRṄGAPURAM GRANT OF THE TIME OF KĀKATĪYA GAṆAPATI, ŚAKA 1176 – PLATE I

i a



i b



ii a

ii b

20 syē śukla-pakshasya daśamyāṁ Sōmavāsarē || [11 ||*] Āhūya brāhmaṇān=bhaktyā

21 vēda-vēdāṁga-pāragān | śruta-śīla-guṇ-ōpētān=saṁpūjya cha yathāvidhi || [12 ||*]

22 Bhūyāt=sva-svāminē puṇyam=ity=āśāsya sa bhūpatiḥ | tēbhyaḥ sa-dakshiṇaṁ grā-

23 maṁ prādāch=Chhāmrgapur-[1] ābhidhaṁ (dham)|| [13 ||*] Ashṭabhōga-yutaṁ tējaḥ svāmyābhyāṁ cha samāyu-

24 (tam)| ā-sīma-grāmam=ētēbhyō datvā ha vinay-ānvitaḥ || [14 ||*] Sva-vaṁśyāḥ śatru-

25 vaṁśyā v=āparē vā syur=nnarādhipāḥ [|*] yē pālayaṁti mē dharmaṁ tēbhyō mū-

Second Plate : First Side

26 rddhni kritāṁjaliḥ || [15 ||*] Tatra pratigrahītāraḥ āryyau Śrīdhara-Kommanau| Kosane-

27 yāryya ity=ētē traya[ś=*] Śrīvatsa-gōtrīṇaḥ || [16 ||*] Muppanaḥ Kēśavō=Naṁtaḥ Perumā-

28 ḍiś=cha Rēmaṇaḥ | Viṭhṭhalaḥ Pēkanō Raṁganāthaḥ Kēśava-Mārayō || [17 ||*] Prōlidē-

29 vō Nāgadēvō Mārayārya it=īritāḥ | trayōdaśa-dvijavarā ā-

30 ryyā Hārita-gōtriṇaḥ || [18 ||*] Ellayāryaḥ Kommanāryyō Muttanā-

31 ryyaś=cha Dēvanaḥ | Śāṁḍilya-gōtriṇaś=ch=aitē chatvārō dvijapuṁga-

32 vāḥ || [19 ||*] Āditya-Svāmidēvaś=cha Kāmanō Mārayas=tathā | Vemna-

33 yō Bōlayaś=ch=ēti Kauṁḍinyāḥ shaḍ=dvijōttamāḥ || [20 ||*] Prōlayō Dē-

34 vanaḥ Prōlidēvaḥ Kēśava ity=amī | chatvāraḥ Kauśikā viprā Dōnayā-

35 ryaś=cha Bhārgavaḥ || [21 ||*] Kommanāryaḥ Kēśvāryaḥ Sū-

36 ranāryyaś=cha Kāśyapāḥ || (|) Rebbanō Rēmanō Nāgadēvaś=ch=ēti dvijō-

1. Read *Chhārṁgapur-*

Second Plate : Second Side[1]

37 ttamāḥ | [| 22 ||*] Bhāradvājās=trayō=py=ēta Ātrēyaḥ Kommanā-

38 ryyakaḥ || (|) Taṁmenāryō Bōlayāryya Eṟṟa-pōtāryya

39 ity=amī | ||| 23 ||*] Gautamā Vishṇuvṛiddhaś=cha Kāmadēvō dvijōttamaḥ || (|) Śāṁ-

40 ḍilya-gōtra-saṁbhūtō Bappanāryo[2] dvijōttamaḥ | [| 24 || *] Harit-ānva-

41 ya-saṁbhūtō Mārayāryō mahā-dvijaḥ || (|) Nāraya-

42 ṇaḥ Sūranaś=cha dvāv=āryyau Kuṁḍin-ānvayau || [25 ||*] Iti prati-

43 ggrahītāraḥ sarvvē=pi sama-bhāginaḥ dvi-chatvāriṁśad=aṁtyās=tu

44 trayō niśchala-bhāginaḥ | [| 26 ||*]Madhyasthō Bavva(ppa)nāryas=tu dvayē-

45 shv=ardhārdha-bhāg=iha | pratyēkam=ēshāṁ gōcharma-mātraṁ

Third Plate : First Side

46 kshētraṁ prakalpitaṁ(tam)||[27||*] Daśa-hastēna daṁḍēna triṁśad=daṁḍa nivarta-

47 naṁ(naṁ) | tāny=ēva daśa-gōcharma[m*]tad=dānād=Achyutam padaṁ(dam) || [28 ||*] A-

48 tha sīmā-lakshaṇāny=Aṁdhra-bhāshayā | tūrpuna Guṁḍa-

49 kaṁma | anamtaram=ā Laṁjapaṭi dakshiṇāna vāṁgu | a-

50 ṭu vachchi dēvata-guḍi tūrpunan= Anumanaṁgūri ḍoṁka ṟāti

51 puṭṭa | aṭu vachchi yasavalakuṁṭa | aṭu maḍupugā vachchi Naṁnūr=īśā-

52 nyāna kuśa-darbha-paḍiya | aṭu vachchi Naṁnūri vāyavyāna nela-

1. The numeral 2 is engraved at the beginning of the 2nd line on this side indicating the number of the plate.

2. NDI wrongly reads *Oppanāryō*.

ŚĀRṄGAPURAM GRANT OF THE TIME OF KĀKATĪYA GAṆAPATI, ŚAKA 1176 – PLATE II

iii a

iii b

iv a

iv b

53 padiya | aṭu vachchi [Naṁ*] nūri nairriti Gārela-kuṁṭa | aṭu vachchi

54 Nelapāṭi āgnēyāna puṭṭa | aṭu vachchi Chilukalēṭi tūrpuna

Third Plate : Second Side[1]

55 nela-kuṁṭa | Chilukalēṭi padumaṭan=ēṟu vāṁgu kūṭami [|*] a-

56 ṭu vachchi Kalamala-kuṁta | aṭu vachchi loṁtu-vāṁgu vēṁṭtam

57 galasina kūṭami | aṭuēṭi[2] dakshiṇāna madupugāṁ dūrpu

58 vachchi Kōtikāla gaṭṭu paḍumaṭi prāṁtamu | anaṁtaraṁ=ā

59 Boṁmaramu gaṭṭa | atu madupumgāṁ bōyi tū-

60 rpuna vēmula kāluva | atu vachchiy=āgnēyamu

61 mūla dūbala guṁṭa | aṭu vachchi Mogaliguṁḍāla pa-

62 ṁcha ku[ṁ*]ṭla gaṭṭu | aṭu vachchi nairriti mūla nēla-kuṁṭa | a-

63 ṭu madupugāṁ vachchi paḍumaṭi sīmalu nēla palla-

Fourth Plate : First Side

64 mu tōḍi duba | ēṭi dakshiṇānaṁ bodati tōḍi dūba |

65 ēṭi y=uttarānaṁ bakkala poḍaru | aṭu vachchi vrappi-kuṁ-

66 ṭa [3] aṭu madupugāṁ dūrpu vachchi gutta tōdi puṭṭa | aṭu

67 aṭu[4] vachchi reṁṭi kuṁṭalu | aṭu vachchi Chilukalēṭi dakshiṇā-

---

1 The numeral 3 is engraved at the beginning of the 5th line on this side indicating the number of the plate

2. The letter *ṭi* is very thinly engraved below the line.

3. The engraver forgot to engrave this letter and *daṇḍa* and later engraved them in the left margin

4. This *aṭu* is redundant.

68 naṁ chaṭṭu tōḍi guḍḍa | ēṭi y=uttarānam bakk[1]alatōḍi

69 puṭṭa | aṭu vachchi vāyavyamu dikku vāṁgu | aṭu vachchi maṁ-

70 khyana-kuṁṭa | aṭu vachchi īśānyamu dikkuna Māṁdūkē-

71 śvaramu [|*] paḍumaṭa Gaṁḍakaṁma || dīniki sthalamu Laṁjepā-

72 ḍuṁnu Piṁna-Kruṁkupāḍuṁnu | chāla-

Fourth Plate : Second Side[2]

73 ni koṟataku Mogaliguṁḍāla polam=āṁdu beṭṭināru ||

74 Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagarādibhiḥ |

75 yasya yasya yadābhūmis=tasya tasya tathā pa(pha)-

76 laṁ (lam)||[39||*] Śatruṇ=āpi kritō dharmmō rakshitavyaḥ prayatna-

77 taḥ | śatrur=ēva hi śatru[s*]syād=ddharmmaḥ śatrur=na kasyachit || [30 ||*]

78 Dāna-pālanayōr=madhyē dānāch=chrē (chhrē)yō nupālanaṁ (am) | dānāt=svarga-

79 m=avāpnōti pālanād=Achyutaṁ padaṁ (dam)|| [31 ||*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattā-

80 ṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁdharāṁ (rām) | shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi

81 vishṭhāyāṁ jāyatē krimiḥ || [32 ||*] Gām=ēkāṁ na(ra)tnikā-

Fifth Plate : First Side

82 m=ēkāṁ bhūmēr=apy=ēkam=aṁgulaṁ (am)|haran=narakam=a-

83 pnōti yāvad=ābhūta-saṁplavaṁ (vam)||[33||*] Sāmānyē(yō)=yaṁ

84 dharmmasētur=nripāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō

85 bhavadbhiḥ | sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pārtthivēṁ-

---

1. This letter *kka* is engraved below the line.

2. The numeral 4 is engraved at the beginning of the fourth line on this side indicating the number of the plate.

ŚĀRṄGAPURAM GRANT OF THE TIME OF KĀKATĪYA GAṆAPATI, ŚAKA 1176 – PLATE III

va

vb

SEAL



(From Photograph)

86 drān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachaṁdraḥ || [34 ||*] Śrī-

87 dharaṇī-dharō rakshatu | maṁgala-mahā-śrī[1] Chakraṁ

88 [2]Varāhaḥ || śrī-śrī-śrī [||*] Viprāṁchchhu(viprāṁś = chhu)ddha-ku-

89 lōdbhavān=avikalān=satkarmmabhiḥ saṁskṛitān [|*] svādhyā-

Fifth Plate : Second Side[3]

90 y=ādhyayanē ratān=avikṛitān=dharmmē ratān=saṁga-

91 tān | kalpa-vyākṛiti-tarka-nīti-nipuṇān=abhya-

92 rchya tēbhyaḥ kṛitī [|*] prādāch-Chamrgapuraṁ[4] dharā-pa-

93 rivṛidhaḥ Śrī-Chakranārāyaṇaḥ || [35 ||*]

1. The figure of *chakram* is engraved here.
2. The figure of *Varāha* is engraved here.
3. The numeral 5 is engraved at the beginning of the 3rd line on this side indicating the number of the plate.
4. Read *Chāṁgapuraṁ.*

NO. 3 – SIRUGUPPI HERO-STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VĀṆUSATTI-ARASA

(1 Plate)

M.J. Sharma,Mysore

The inscription which is edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was recently recopied from a stone-slab lying near the Huḍeda Hanumān temple at **Siruguppi**, Hubli Taluk, Dharwar District. It was discovered earlier during 1933-34 and was noticed in *A.R.S.I.E.* under No. B.K. 32 with a plate. Later, it was included in *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVIII, under No. 7 with plate. But the illustration in the above *A.R.S.I.E.* as well as in the *S.I.I.* volume shows that the original estampage covered only the upper half of the slab containing the inscription, which runs into 4 lines, occupying the top portion of the slab, and a panel of figures engraved beneath the writing, depicting two seated male figures, each flanked by two standing female figures. With the recent recopying of the same slab more information has come to light with the exposure of two more panels of figures engraved below the single panel mentioned above, thus giving a complete picture of the commemoration of two heroes killed in a cattle-raid.

These three panels may be described from bottom upwards in the order of their sequence. The lower panel depicts the scene of the cattle-raid, the actual battle being fought and the death of two heroes who are seen lying dead, stretched on their backs, while the middle one portrays the process of their reaching their heavenly abode. Each hero is represented in a separate compartment, standing and being flanked by two standing heavenly damsels who are depicted in the act of pouring down the ceremonial water of purification from the pitchers held upside down. The upper panel, similarly divided into two compartments, depicts the heavenly abode wherein the heroes are seated separately in the *ardha-paryaṅka* pose, on a *pīṭha,* and each is seen being flanked by two standing female chauri-bearers. Hero-stone inscriptions belonging to 6th-7th century A.D. are not easy to come across. Perhaps, the present inscription may be one of the earliest in Karnataka and there again, this kind of compartmentalised depiction on a single stone slab of two heroes attaining heaven seems to be unique and uncommon.

As regards **palaeography**, the letter-forms retain the squarish and angular features more than the cursive. The serifs are formed mostly by thick horizontal bands and, in a few cases, they are represented by box-heads and nail-heads. The **characters** are **Southern** or **early Kannaḍa** and may be placed broadly between the later half of the

6th and first half of the 7th century A.D. The letters are generally comparable with those of the Halsi[1] and Sangoli[2] plates of Kadamba Harivarman.

The **language** of the inscription is **Kannaḍa** and the text is in prose.

Since the inscription ends abruptly there is no clarity in regard to the names of the heroes who were killed in the cattle-raid. It states that when **Vāṇusatti-arasa** was ruling over **Mūḷuṅgunda,** his son (whose name is not given) was administering **Siri[gu*]ppe.** Then it refers to a cattle-raid carried out by a certain **Kundasatti-arasa** and also mentions two names, viz. **Siriguppa** of the **Kavōdara** family and **Siri** **Vākkaṭakaṇadēvi.**

The importance of the inscription lies in the reading of the name Vāṇusatti-arasa. Late Shri N. Lakshminarayana Rao had read this name as Vāṇasatti-arasa[3] and on the strength of the name-ending *-śatti* (Sanskrit *-śakti*) he had identified him to be one of the Sēndraka chiefs.[4] A closer examination of the letter *ṇa* in Vāṇasatti-arasa, however, reveals that a medial *u* sign has been added by a downward lengthening of the right lower limb of the letter *ṇa* which takes an upward curve to the left thus making the letter finally *ṇu.* Consequently, the first two letters of the name may be read as *Vāṇu* instead of *Vāṇa.* The word *Vāṇu* with its Sanskrit original *Bhānu* when prefixed to *satti* (=Sanskrit *śakti)* yields the name Vāṇusatti, its Sanskrit equivalent Bhānuśakti being the name of a Sēndraka chief who is mentioned in the Halsi plates[5] of Kadamba Harivarman and in three copper plate grants from Southern Gujarat, namely the Bāgumra[6] and Nāgad[7] plates of Nikumbh-Āllaśakti and the Mundakhēḍē[8] plates of Jayaśakti. The name Bhānuśakti as it occurs in the Bāgumra plates is much closer to that of our present record.[9]

In the Halsi plates[10] Bhānuśakti is mentioned as the glory of the family of the Sēndrakas and as the king *(rāja)* at whose request the gift of the village Marade was made while in the Bāgumra, Nāgad and Mundakhēḍē plates, he is placed as the first

1. *Ind.Ant.,* Vol. VI, pp. 30-31 and plate.
2. Above, Vol. XIV, plate facing p. 166.
3. See : *S.I.I.,* Vol. XVIII, No. 7, text-line 1.
4. *Ibid.,* Intro. p. 1.
5. *Ind.Ant.,* Vol. VI, pages 31-32 and plate.
6. *Ibid.,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff. and plate.
7. Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 195 ff.
8. Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 116 ff. and plate.
9. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XVIII, p. 267, text-line 6.
10. *Ibid.,* Vol. VI, p. 32.

member in the family pedigree of the Sēndrakas; and in all these three grants he is described in almost similar eloquent terms.[1]

In the Mundakhēḍē plates the family pedigree adds one more member namely Jayaśakti[2] to the list of three members of the Sēndraka family (viz., Bhānuśakti, Ādityaśakti and Nikumbh-Āllaśakti) and some of them are therein endowed with certain *birudas* or titles which are usually associated with their Chalukya suzerains.[3] A comparison of these *birudas* of the Sēndraka rulers as also the dates available for them with those of their Chalukya overlords (see the table given below) helps us to determine roughly the contemporaneity of a couple of Sēndraka chiefs and their Chalukya masters.

---

1. For example, in the Bāgumra plates he is described as follows: 'in the race of the Sēndraka kings that is free from decay, firmly fashioned and high like mount Mēru, the great fame of which has unfolded itself (there was) he who obtained victory by the furious onslaught of arrays of troops of four-toothed elephants, he who conquered the crowd of all his foes, he who gained the circle of the earth by the valour of his arms, he whose lotus-feet were scratched by the crowns on the heads of all his bending vassals, he who was endowed with political wisdom, modesty, truthfulness, purity, virtuous behaviour, self restraint, mercy, liberality, kindliness, glory and wealth, the lord of men (*narapati*), the illustrious Bhānuśakti', See translation in *Ind.Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 269.

2. Above, Vol. XXIX, p 117.

3. Mirashi draws attention to this practice of feudatories assuming the titles of the overlords by adverting to the Manor plates. See, *Ibid.*, p. 118. Also see K.V. Ramesh : 'Chalukya Pulakēśin I', in *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, pages 219-20.

KADAMBA	*SĒNDRAKA*		*CHALUKYA*	
Harivarman ... (c. 538-70 A.D.[1])	Bhānuśaktirāja[2] *s.a.*	Bhānuśakti[3] ... (*Śrīvallabha*)	Pulakēśin I (*Śrīvallabha, Vallabhēśvara*) 543-565/66 A.D.)	
		Ādityaśakti	Kīrttivarma-I (566/67-597 A.D.)	Maṅgalēśa (597-609 A.D.)
		Nikumbh-Āllaśakti (*Satyāśraya, Pṛithvīvallabha*) (653 A.D.[4] and 655 A.D.[5])	Pulakēśin II (*Satyāśraya-Śrī-Pṛithvīvallabha*) (609/10-42 A.D.)	
		Jayaśakti (*Satyāśraya, Pṛithvīvallabha, Vikramāditya*) (681 A.D.[6])	(*Satyāśraya, Śrī-Pṛithvīvallabha*) Vikramāditya I (654/55-681 A.D.)	

1. N.L. Rao and R.S. Panchamukhi : *Karnāṭakada Arasumanetanagaḷu*, Vol. I, p. 15.
2. Halsi plates of Harivarma (*Ind.Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 32).
3. Mentioned in Mundakhēḍē, Bāgumra and Nāgad plates.
4. Date given in Kāsārē plates of Sēndraka Nikumbh-Āllaśakti (Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 200).
5. Date given in Bāgumra (*Ind.Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 26) and Nāgad plates (Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 196).
6. Date given in Mundakhēḍē plates of Jayaśakti (Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 117).

From the above table, it is observed that Jayaśakti, the great-grandson of Bhānuśakti was contemporary to Chalukya Vikramāditya I and had adopted the name of his master 'Vikramāditya' as one of his titles, while his father Nikumbh-Āllaśakti was not only contemporary to Vikramāditya I as is borne out by his known dates but also to Pulakēśin II as is clearly suggested by his titles *Satyāśraya* and *Pṛīthvīvallabha* which were so closely associated with Pulakēśin II that he is sometimes referred to in his records only by those titles and not by his name.[1] Ādityaśakti, son of Bhānuśakti, though he is not endowed with any title, may be presumed to have ruled during the times of Pulakēśin II, Maṅgalēśa and Kīrttivarman I and the pedigree shows that he had immediately preceded his son Nikumbh- Āllaśakti whose time is well established by his date and titles. Bhānuśakti, father of Ādityaśakti, thus naturally becomes the contemporary of Kīrttivarman I. He must also have been a contemporary of Pulakēśin I as is suggested by his title Śrīvallabha which was also one of Pulakēśin I's titles. Thus being placed in the time of Pulakēśin I (c. 543-565/66 A.D.) and Kīrttivarman I (566/67-597 A.D.), the Bhānuśakti of the Bāgumra, Nāgad and Mundakhēḍē plates stands contemporary to another Bhāṇuśakti, a Sēndraka king who was feudatory of Kadamba Harivarman (c. 538-70 A.D.). As seen above, since both of them have been praised in eloquent terms and happened to have lived at the same time, it may not be improper to identify them as one and the same person. Similarly, considering his popularity and time, he can be identified with the Vāṇusatti (Bhānuśakti) of the record under study which is palaeographically datable to the very same period. It may thus be safely concluded that during the period in question there was only one Bhānuśakti of the Sēndraka line who began his career as a Kadamba feudatory, later switched his allegiance over to the Chalukyas and is named as Vāṇusatti in our lithic record.

Bühler,[2] while editing the Bāgumra plates, identified Bhānuśakti of the charter with Bhānuśakti-rāja, the feudatory of Kadamba Harivarman and rightly suggested that the Sēndrakas were feudatories first of the Kadambas and later of the Western Chalukyas who overthrew the former.[3] And, as for their appearance in Gujarat, he was of the view that when the Western Chalukyas conquered southern Gujarat, being their feudatories, the Sēndrakas went to that region in the service of their liege lords, and were rewarded with grants of districts. The latter view may not be improbable for, firstly, none of the Sēndraka grants from Southern Gujarat refers to Bhānuśakti or even his son Ādityaśakti as being the rulers of that region and secondly, there are no evidences to say from any other sources that the Sēndrakas had ruled in that region earlier to the Chalukya occupation, which took place sometime during Maṅgalēśa's

1. See *eg. Ind.Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 72 (Hyderabad Grant of Pulakēśin); *JESI*, Vol. VII, p. 2 (A New Early Chalukya Inscription).
2. *Ind.Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 266-67.
3. See also Fleet : *Dyn. Kan. Dists.*, p. 10.

regime.[1] As for the former view that the Sēndrakas were feudatories first of the Kadambas and later of the Western Chalukyas, available evidences are in agreement. If we take up the prevailing political scene (see the above table) in about the middle of the 6th century A.D., we have, on the one side, Harivarman (c. 538-70 A.D.), who was the last known Kadamba king of his line and was ruling over the western part of Karnataka, i.e. parts of North Kanara and Belgaum District and, on the other, Pulakēśin I, who had already established himself as an independent Chalukya ruler by 543 A.D.[2] after performing the *aśvamēdha* and other sacrifices at Vātāpi (modern Bādāmi). And, during 566-67 A.D. the latter was succeeded by Kīrttivarman I who is described as *kāḷarātri* (a night of death) to the Naḷas, Mauryas and Kadambas and as breaking up the confederacy of the Kadambas.[3] He had obviously expanded his kingdom at the expense of the Kadambas and, very probably, Kadamba Harivarman was the main loser. It is not known when exactly the Kadambas were subjugated by Kīrttivarman I. It could have either happened immediately after his coming to power or even before, during the reign of his father.[4] However, since the Sēndrakas were not included in the list of the defeated rulers like the Naḷas, Mauryas, Kadambas, etc., it may be safely presumed that the Sēndraka king Bhānuśakti might have shifted his allegiance to the Chalukyas even before the great battles were launched for the establishment of a strong Chalukya empire. And it was the opportune time for him to participate, as a Chalukya ally, in those battles and acquire great fame among the Sēndrakas which the records speak of. Further, the matrimonial alliance entered by Kīrttivarman I with the Sēndrakas[5] serves as yet another proof of the close allegiance of the Sēndrakas to the Chalukyas. The present record refers to Vāṇusatti (Bhānuśakti) as ruling over Mūḷuṅgunda which may be identified with modern Mulgund in Gadag Taluk, Dharwar District. Mulgund and the region around lie immediately to the South of Bādāmi (Bijapur District) across Ron Taluk (Dharwar District) which is bordered by the Malaprabhā river. This region being geographically vulnerable, it may be inferred that at the very beginning of territorial consolidation, this region was brought under Chalukya sway.

---

1. *Early History of Deccan*, pp. 209-10. This does not mean that immediately after the occupation, the Sēndrakas were put in charge of this region as the clearer evidence of occupation comes only during the period of Pulakēśin II (Aihoḷe Inscription) and with the rule of Nikumbh-Allaśakti as mentioned in his Bāgumra, Nāgad and Kāsārē plates. Perhaps, Pulakēśin II, being born to a Sēndraka princess,, *(Ibid.*, p. 208) obviously found members of this family to be more dependable as feudatory administrators of a newly acquired territory.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
3. Fleet : *Dyn.Kan.Dists.*, p. 345.
4. *The Classical Age*, p. 233.
5. From the Chiplūṇ grant of Pulakēśin II, we learn that Kīrttivarman I's wife was a sister of *Rājā* Śrīvallabha-Sēnānanda of the Sēndra family. Fleet : *Dyn.Kan.Dists.*, p. 345. Probably, this Sēndraka chief might have had some relationship with our Sēndraka Bhānuśakti or might have belonged to a collateral branch.

The inscription refers to a cattle-raid by a certain Kundasatti-arasa when Siri[gu*]ppe was being administered by Vāṇusatti's (Bhānuśakti's) son whose name is not mentioned in the record. Kundasatti (=Sanskrit: Kundaśakti) may be identified with the Sēndraka chief Kundaśakti who is referred to in an inscription[1] from Lakshmēśvar (Shirhatti Taluk, Dharwar District) as the son of Vijayaśakti and father of Durgaśakti who was the feudatory of Pulakēśin II.[2] Of the other two names occurring in the inscription, the first one, Kavōḍarā Siriguppa[3] may be identified as the name of one of the heroes killed in rescuing the cattle while the other one Siri Vākkaṭakaṇadēvi[4] sounds as a female name with *dēvi-* ending and cannot be easily accepted as the name of the second hero.

TEXT[5]

1. Svasti śrī- **Vāṇusatti**[6]**-arasarā**

2. **Mūḷuṅgund-āḷe** ant=avar-mmakkaḷā **Siri[gu*] ppe** ā-

3. ḷe **Kundasatti-arasa** [n-tuṟi] goḷe Kavōḍarā **Sirigu-**

4. ppanu[ṁ] siri-**Vākkaṭakaṇadēvi**[7]

---

1. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XX, No. 3.
2. *Ibid.*, Intro. p. vii.
3. If we take the name-ending *guppa* for a suggested Sanskrit original Gupta, the name can be read as 'Śrīgupta'. See for *'Guppa'* in *S.I.I.*, Vol. XX, No. 2, Intro.
4. Late N. Lakshminarayana Rao points out the likelihood of this name being connected with the Vākāṭaka family. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVIII, No. 7, Intro.
5. From impressions.
6. Late N. Lakshminarayana Rao reads this as *Vāṇasatti.* Ibid., text-line 1.
7. This can also be read as *Siri-Vākkaṭa[ṁ]ka*(or *ra)aṇadēvi.* In that case the former word *(Siri-Vākkaṭa)* could become the name of the second hero killed in rescuing the cattle.

SIRUGUPPI HERO-STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VĀNUSATTI – ARASA



K. V. Ramesh SCALE : ONE-SIXTH

NO. 4 – TWO COPPER PLATE CHARTERS OF THE GĀHAḌAVĀLA KING JAYACHCHANDRADĒVA

(2 Plates)

S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

The two copper plate charters edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore were discovered by a farmer while ploughing his field in the village Asai in Bharthana Tahsil, Etawah District, Uttar Pradesh. The plates are now deposited in the State Provincial Museum at Lucknow. During my visit to Lucknow in November 1974, I had the occasion to examine the plates and prepare good estampages.[1] A brief account of the two charters by V.N. Srivastava has already appeared meanwhile in the Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology, U.P.[2] The two charters are very important as they disclose for the first time two hitherto unknown feudatory chiefs of the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachchandra-dēva ruling over the Etawah region. The two charters are, for the sake of convenience, designated here as A and B.

Charter A, Vikrama 1229.

This charter is engraved on only one side of a single copper plate which measures 44.3 cm in length, 32.3 cm in breadth and .4 cm in thickness. There is a perforated projection fixed at the centre of the back of the plate through which a ring passes. There is a sun flower like figure embossed right in the middle at the top of the plate. There are in all 28 lines of writing. The writing is in a good state of preservation excepting the last three lines.

The characters are Nāgarī and the language is Sanskrit. The inscription is partly in verse and partly in prose. There are in all 21 verses. Though the writing is satisfactory, there are some orthographical and scribal errors to which attention has been drawn while editing the text.

Though the charter is written more or less on the same model of Jayachchandra-dēva's other known charters, two verses generally found in them viz. *Lōka-tray-ākramaṇa*, etc. and *Gachchēn=mūrchhāṁ=atuchchāṁ*, etc., are not found. In charter B, only the second verse is found.

The record begins with the well-known *siddham* symbol as expressed by the numerical figure 90 followed by two strokes. After the invocatory verse in praise of the

1. The two charters have been noticed in *A.R.I.E.*, 1974-75 as Nos. A 18 and 19. They have also been briefly noticed in the *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1974-75, No. 38, p. 59 and again in the *Review* for 1975-76 as No. 45, p. 65.

   Bulletin of Archaeology and Museums, No. 10, p. 62.

goddess Lakshmī (verse 1), the inscription gives the usual genealogy of the Gāhaḍavāla family commencing with Yaśōvigraha. After recounting (lines 1-13) the eulogy of the successive kings **Mahīchandra, Chandradēva, Madanapāla,, Gōvindachandra** and **Vijayachandra**, the record proceeds to mention Jayachchandra. In the prose passage that follows (line 14) after the mention of his forbears Jayachchandradēva is introduced as the reigning king with all his imperial titles. Then follows a verse (line 15) describing the victorious march of a king which is out of context here and which should have found a place in the genealogical portion. In the other charters of Jayachchandradēva this verse is found immediately after the mention of Madanapāla and therefore the king whose *jaitra-yātrā* is described can be none other than Madanapāla. The royal order is addressed (line 15-17) to the inhabitants of **Vakradēvapura** situated in **Siddhachauṭa-pattala** as well as the people of the countryside and dignitaries beginning with *Rājas, Rājñīs, Yuvarājas*, etc. The details of the grant are given in lines 17-29. This portion refers to the gift-land as **Lahaḍa-kshētra** situated in the south of **Vakradēvabhaṭāgra-hāra** and also contains an enumeration of its boundaries. The land granted was bounded on the east by Gautamapurī, on the south by Akanauḍā-grāma, on the west by Lashulā-grāma and on the north by Vaṁkupurī. The date of the grant is given (lines 19-20) both in words and figures. The charter is dated on the **15th day of the bright fortnight of the month Phālguna in Vikrama saṁvat 1229**,, the week day being **Thursday**, the details corresponding to **2nd November 1172 A.D.** The charter then records (lines 20-23) that on the day cited above, **Rāṇaka Abhayapāla**, after taking bath in the Yamunā at Āsatikā and performing other ceremonies, granted the field by name Lahaḍa to *Bhaṭṭāraka paṁḍita* Kēdārarāśi who probably received the gift on behalf of the god **Sōmēśvaradēva** of Āsatī. It is not clear from the record in what way Kēdārarāśi was associated with the temple of Sōmēśvaradēva and in what manner the income from the gift-land was to be utilised. The donor *Rāṇaka* Abhayapāla is stated (line 22) to have made the grant after getting the approval of his good master *(su-svāmī)* Janārddana, which name obviously stands for Jayachchandra, the imperial Gāhaḍavāla king with whose permission the grant in question would have been issued under normal circumstances. The gift was of a permanent nature and the donee was entitled to all regular and irregular taxes such as *bhāga-bhōga-kara, pravaṇikara, viṁśatichchavaṭhā*, etc. (lines 22-23). Then follow nine usual imprecatory and benedictory verses asking people not to tamper in any way with the grant. The charter was written by **Jagadhara**, the son of *paṁḍita* Śrīdhara.

The charter introduces for the first time *Rāṇaka* Abhayapāla as a feudatory of the Gāhaḍavāla monarch Jayachchandradēva and as probably ruling over the Etawah region. It is known from a copper plate grant of Madanapāla and Gōvindachandra dated Vikrama 1166[1] that one *Rāṇaka* Lavarāpravāha was a feudatory of the Gāhaḍavālas. Judging from the findspot of that charter which is said to be Rahan in

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 14 f.

Etawah District, it is quite likely that he too was ruling over the Etawah region. The charters under study are also from the same region. This leads one to conclude that both *Rāṇaka* Abhayapāla (of charter A) and *Rāṇaka* Amṛitapāla (of charter B) belonged to the same feudatory family of *Rāṇaka* Lavarāpravāha. We do not know the nature of the relationship, if any, between the three *Rāṇakas*, Lavarāpravāha, Abhayapāla and Amritapāla.

Of the **geographical names** figuring in this charter **Kāśi, Kuśika, Uttarakōsala, Indrasthāna, Kānyakubja** and **Yamunā** are too well known to need any identification. **Āsatī** or **Āsatikā** figures in the other charters of Jayachchandradēva also and is to be identified with the findspot **Asai.** Of the localities stated to form boundaries of the gifted land, Gautamapurī is no doubt identical with the modern village Gautampur.[1] Akanauḍā-grāma, Lashula-grāma, Vaṅkupurī and Bhaṭāgrahāra of Vakradēva cannot, however, be identified.

TEXT[2]

[Metres: Verses 1, 3, 13 - 21, *Anushṭubh;* verse 2, *Indravajrā;* verses 4. 7, 11, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita;* verses 5-6, 8, 12, *Vasantatilakā*; verse 9, *Drutavilambitā;* verse 10, *Mālinī.*]

1 Siddhaṁ[3] ॥ Svasti ॥ Akuṇṭh-ōtkaṇṭha-vaikuṇṭha-kaṇṭha-pīṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ ॥ (।) saṁra[ṁ*]bha[ḥ*] mu(su)rat-ārambhē sa śriyaḥ śrēyasē=stu vaḥ ॥ [1*] Āsīd=Aśītadyuti-vansa[4]-jāta-kashā(kshmā)pāla-mālāsu divaṁ-gatāsu । sākshād= viva-

2 svān=iva bhūri-dhāmnā nāmnā **Yaso(śō)vigraha** ity=udāraḥ ॥ [2*] Tat-sutō=bhūn= **Mahīchandraś**=chandradhāma-ti(ni)sā(bha)[ṁ*] nni(ni)jam(jam) ॥ (।) yēn= āpāram=akūpāra-pārē vyāpāritaṁ yaśaḥ ॥ [3*] Tasy=ābhūt=tanayō nay-aika-rasikaḥ krāṁ-

3 tta(ta)dvipa(sha)n-maṇḍalō ।[5] vivv(dhva)svō (st-ō)dhva(ddha)ta-dhīra-yōdha-timiraḥ śrī-**Chandradēvō** nṛipaḥ ॥ (।) yēn-ōdāratara-pratāpa-śamit-āśēsha -praj-ōpadrava[ṁ] śrīmad-**Gādhipur**-ādhirājyam=asaman=dōr-vvika(kra)mo(mē)ṇ= ārjjitaṁ(tam) ॥ [4*] Tīrthāti(ni) **Kāsi(śi)-Kusi(śi)**-

1. Census of India, 1951, *District Population Statistics*, U.P., 19, Etawah District, p. 10.
2. From impressions. This is No. A 18 of *A.R.I.E.*, 1974-75.
3. Expressed by a symbol.
4. Read *-vaṁśa-*.
5. This stroke is redundant.

4 **k-Ōttarakōsal-Ēṁdra-sthānīyakāni** paripālayatā=bhigamya || hēm=ātma-=ātma-tulyam=anisaṁ(śaṁ) dadatā dvijēbhyō yēn=āṁkitā vasumatī śataśas=tulābhiḥ || [5*] Tasy=ātmajō **Mandanapāla** iti kshitīṁdraś=chūḍāmaṇir-vvi- |[1]

5 jayatē nija-gōtra-chandraḥ || (|) yasy=ābhishēka-kalaś-ōllasitai [ḥ*] payōbhiḥ prakshālitaṁ kali-rajaḥ paṭalaṁ dharitryāḥ || [6*] Yasy=āsīd vijaya-prayāṇa-sa[ma*] yē tuṅg-āchal-ōchchaiś=chalan=mādyat-kumbhi-pada ,[1]

6 [1] | ka(kra) m-āsra(sa)ma-bhara-bhraśyan=mahî-maṇḍalē Chūḍā-ratna-chi(vi)bhinna-tālu-galita-styān-āsṛig -udbhāsitaḥ Śēshaḥ pēsha-vaśā(śā) d=iva śrī[1] Chakraṁ(sau) krōḍē vilîn-ānanaḥ || [7*] Tasmād=ajāyata nij-āyata vā(bā) hu-valli(llī)-

7 va(ba)ndh-āvaka(ru)ddha -nava-rādhya(jya)-gajō narēndraḥ | śa(sā)[ṁ*] dr-āmṛita drava-muchāṁ pra ||[2] vō gavāṁ yō Gōvindachandra iti Chandra iv=āṁvu(bu)-rāśēḥ || [8*] Na katham=apy=alabhanta raṇa-kshamāṁs=tisṛishu dikshu gajān=atha vajri-

8 naḥ | kakubhi babhramur=abhramuvallabha-pratibhaṭā iva yasya gajā-ghaṭā[ḥ*] |[| 9*] Ajani **Vijayachandrō** nāma tasmān=narēndraḥ surapatir=iva bhūbhṛit-paksha-vichchhēda-dakshaḥ ||(|) sa(bhu)vana-dalana-hēlā-ha[rmya] -Hamvīra-nārī-na-

9 yata(na)-jalada-dhārā-śānta-bhūlōka-tāpaḥ || [10*] Tasmād=adbhuta-vikramād=atha **Jayachaṁdr**[3]-ābhidhāno nṛipaḥ bhūpānām=avakī(tī)rṇna ēsha bhuvannō(n-ō)-ōdhā(ddhā)rāya Nārāyaṇaḥ [| *] dvaidhī-bhāvam=upāsya vigraha-ruvi(chiṁ) dhiku(kkṛi)-

10 tya satrāsyā[4] sēvantē yam=udagra-va(ba)ndhana-bhaya-vvaṁ(dhvaṁ) s-ārthina[ḥ*] pārthivrā(vā)ḥ || [11*] Sō=ya[ṁ*] samasta-rāja-chakra-sā(saṁ)-sēṁ(sē)vita-charaṇaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-Paramēsva(śva) ra-paramamāhēśvara-nija-bhu- |[5]

11 j-ōpārjjita Kanyakubj-ādhipati-śrī-Chandradai(dē)va-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭā-raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēsva(śva)ra-paramamāhēsva(śva)ra-śrī-Madanapāla-dēva-pād-ānu [dhyā] tā-paramabhaṭṭāraka-ma- |[6]

---

1. This stroke is redundant.
2. Read *bha* in place of these two strokes.
3. For the sake of metre read *Jayachchandr*°
4. Read *śāntāśayāḥ*.
5. This punctuation mark is redundant.
6. This stroke is redundant.

TWO COPPER PLATE CHARTERS OF GĀHAḌAVĀLA KING JAYCHCHANDRADĒVA – CHARTER A

K.V. Ramesh

12 hārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēsva(śva) r-āsva(śva)pati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrīmad-Gōvindachandradēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭā-

13 raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēsva(śva)ra-paramamāhēsva(śva)r-āsva(śva) pati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrīmad-Vijaya-chandra-pād-ānudhyā-

14 ta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēsva(śva)ra-paramamāhēsva (śva)r-āsva(śva)pati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchas-pati-śrīmaj-Jayatachandradēva[1] vijayī [|| *]

15 Ta(Ya) smi[ṁ] ś=chalaty=udadhi-nēmi-mahī-jayasya[2] karīndra-guru-bhāra-tipīḍi-nāyā[3] [|*] yāni(nti) prajāpati-padam sa(śa)raṇ-ārthini bhūs=tat-sainya-vāha-nivahōsta(ttha)-rapā(ja)ścha(ś=chha)lēna || [12*] **Siddhachauṭē pattalāyaṁ Vakradēvapura-nivā-**[4]

16 sinā(nō) nishi(khi)la-janapadāḥ(dā)n=upagatān=api cha || rāja-rājñī-ju(yu) varāja-maṁtra(tri)-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishakaḥ (g)--naimittik-āntaḥpurikaḥ (ka)-dūta-kari-turagaḥ(ga)-pattan-ākarasthāna-gōkul-ādhikā-

17 ri-purushāṇāṁ tat= samarpayati | vōdhayitv=ādisa(śa)ti cha | yasya[5] viditam=āśtu bhavatāṁ yath=ōpari-likhitam || Iha Vakradēvasya **Bhaṭ-a(ā)grahārē** dakshiṇa diśāyāṁ **Lahaḍa-nāma-kshētraṁ** sa-jala-sthala[ḥ] sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākara [ḥ*] |[sa*]-ga(ma) tsy-ā-

18. ||[6] kara[ḥ*] sa-gart-ōsharaḥ [sa*]-madhūkaś=ch=āmra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-triṇa-pū(yū)ti-gōchara-paryantaḥ [||*] Anyē sarvē cha || sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ asy=āghāṭāni lishya(khya)ntē pūrvvasyāṁ diggau[7] tamapurīya sīmā maryādā || Dakshi[ṇa*]syām diśiṁ(śi) Akanauḍā-

---

1. Read -°*Jayachchaṁdradēvō*
2. Read °*jayārthaṁ*
3. Read -°*nipīḍit=ēva*
4. The single stroke is redundant.
5. The word *yasya* is redundant.
6. The double *daṇḍa* is redundant.
7. Read *diśi Gau* °

19 ||[1] grāmasya sīmā-maryādā || Paśchimāyāṁ diśi Lashulā-grāmasya sīmā-maryādā || Uttarasyāṁ disiṁ(śi) Vaṁkupurīya-sīmā māryādā || Evaṁ chatur-āghāṭa-visu(śu)-ddhaṁ Lahaḍa-kshētraṁ bhōktavyaṁ || **Saṁvatsara(rē) dvādasa(śa)-sa(śa)t-ābdād=ēk=ōna-**

20 **triṁsa(śa)ty=adhikē Kārttikasya su(śu)kla-pakshē paurṇṇamāsyā[ṁ*] Guru-vāsarē=**sya sa[ṁ]vatsarasya māsa-paksha-divas=ānukrama-pārvvaṇa-tithāv=iha tsāṁ(saṁ) vat 1229 Kārttika su(śu)di 15 Gurāv=ady=ēh=. Āsatikāyō(yāṁ) Yamunā[yāṁ] snātvā vidhivan=maṁtra-dē-

21 va-muni-manusha(ja)-bhūta-pitṛi-gaṇāṁs=tarppayitvā timira-paṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahat=samullasō vipram=upasthāy[2] =Aushadhipati-sa(śa)kala-śēsha(kha) ram-abhyarchya tribhuvana-trātur=bhagavatō Mahādēvasya pūjāṁ vidhāya mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha pu-

22 nya(ṇya)-ja(ya)sō(śō)-vivardhayē su-svāmī rāja Janārddanasya prasādēna **rāṇaka-śrī-Abhayapālēna** gō-karṇṇa-kuśalatā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-prakshālita-pūrvva-pravāham=āchaṁdr-ārkka-kshity=udadhi-Gaṁgā -Yamunā-yāvat-pavana-hutāśa (śa)na[ś=cha][1]

23 pātāl-āva(ṁba)rāṇi tāvatsā(ch=chhā)saṅkri(kṛi)tya bhaṭṭāraka **śrī-Kēdārarāśi-paṁḍita-**nāmnā Āsatyāṁ śrī-Sōmēśvaradēvasya pradata(tta)m[3] || matvā yathā dīyamāna-bhāga-bhōgakara-prama(va)ṇikara-viṁsatiddvau chhavath[4]ā- [chā*]ṭa-bhaṭ-āyu [kta][5]

24 prabhṛiti-si(sa)masta-ti(ni)yat-āniyatā chayā[6] ājñāvidhēyībhūya dāsyath=ēti || Bhavata[ḥ*] ch=ātra dharmmān-sasita[7] paurāṇika-ślōkau[8] ||[9] || Bhūmi[m*] yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmiṁ prayachchhati [|*] ubhau tau puṇya-karmāṇō (ṇau) niya[10]

---

1. The double *daṇḍa* is redundant.
2. Read °*mahasam=ushṇarōchisham=upasthāy=*°
3. The passage is defective and the corrected text will be as follows : *Āsatyāṁ abhyantarastha*sya- *śrī Sōmēś-varadēvasya-sākshiṇē bhaṭṭāraka-nāmnē śrī- Kēdārarāśi-paṁḍitāya pradattam.* The double stroke at the end is redundant.
4. Read *Viṁśatichhavatha.*
5. *chāṭa, bhaṭa* and *āyukta* should have been mentioned in the beginning while enumerating the list of officials to whom the royal order is addressed. The mention of these officials in the passage mentioning the taxes to be exempted for the grantee is inappropriate.
6. The letter *yā* is redundant.
7. Read *dharm-ānuśaṁsita-*
8. Though only two verses are indicated by the dual case ending in this passage there are actually 9 imprecatory verses.
9. There is a numerical sign like 2 engraved in between the two double *daṇḍas.*
10. There is an unnecessary punctuation mark here.

25. tau(taṁ) svargga-gāminau || [13*] Saṁ(Śaṁ) khaṁ bhadr-āsanaṁ chchatraṁ var-āśvā-vara-vāraṇāḥ | bhūmi-dānasya chihnāni phalam=ētat=Puraṁdara || [14*] Sarvvān=ētān bhāvinaḥ pārthivēndrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachandraḥ | sāmānyō=yaṁ dharmma-

26. sētur=nṛipāṇaṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ || [15*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yada(dā) bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [16*] Suvarṇṇam=ēkaṁ gām=ēkāṁ bhūmēr=apy=ēkām=aṁgulaṁ(lam) [|*] haram(ran)=narakam=āpnōti yā-

27. vad=āhūta-saṁplavaṁ(vam) || [17*] Tā(Ta)ḍāgānāṁ sahasrēṇa Aśvamēdha-sa(śa)-tēna vā[|*] gavāṁ kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-harttā na su(śu)dhyati || [18*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēdva (ta va)suṁdharā[m |*] sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhis=saha majjati || [19*] Vāri-hīnē-

28. shv=araṇyēshu su(śu)shka-kōṭarā(ra)-vāsina[ḥ |*] kṛishṇa-sarppa(rppā)[s=tu] jāyaṁtē dēva-vra(bra)hmasva-hāriṇaḥ || [20*] Shashṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ | āchchhēttā ch=ānumaṁtā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || [21*] Likhitaṁ Paṁḍita Śrīdhara-putra-Jagadhara(rē)[ṇ=ēti*]

Charter B, Vikrama 1239

This charter is also engraved on one side of a single copper plate which measures 48 cm in length, 40.5 cm in breadth and .5 cm in thickness. The rims of the plate are slightly raised in order to protect the writing. As in the case of charter A discussed above, the present copper plate also has a perforated projection fixed at the centre of its back for a ring to pass through. It contains 29 lines of writing in total. The writing is in a very good state of preservation.

The **characters** are **Nāgarī** and the **language** is **Sanskrit**. The inscription is both in verse and prose. The verse portion contains 23 verses. Regarding the orthographical and scribal errorrs, whatever has been stated about charter A holds good here also.

The record begins with the well known *siddham* symbol as found in Charter A followed by the words offering obeisance to Lord Śiva (line 1). After the customary invocatory verse (line 1) in praise of goddess Lakshmī, the inscription gives (lines 1-12) the usual genealogy of the **Gāhaḍavālas** beginning from **Yaśōvigraha** and concluding with **Jayachchandradēva**, the ruling king. Then follows (lines 12-13) the prose passage which mentions all the imperial titles of Jayachchandradēva. Unlike in Charter A, the prose passage here is more concise and all references to Jayachchandra's forbears are omitted. This is then followed (lines 13-15) by the royal order addressed to all the

inhabitants of **Vahaḍhōvī-grāma** situated in **Payidhukā-pattalā** as well as the people of the countryside and dignitaries like *rāja, rājñī, mantri,* etc. After describing (lines 15-16) the usual privileges that generally go with the grant, the charter states (lines 16-20) that in the **Vikrama Saṁvat 1239 in the month of Māgha on the fullmoon day**, the week day being **Monday** (given both in words and figures), which corresponds to **10th January, 1183 A.D.**, **Rāṇaka Amṛitapāla**, after taking bath in the river Yamunā at **Āsatikā** and after performing other ceremonies, made the grant for the merit of himself and his parents to *bhaṭṭāraka* **Nīlakaṇṭha**, the son of *bhaṭṭāraka* Kēdārarāśi and the grandson of *parama-bhaṭṭāraka* Kīrttivāsa who was a great *Pāśupata,* who followed five types of austerities like *japa* (prayer), *niyama* (discipline), *saṁyama* (control of all sense organs), *dhyāna* (meditation) and *anushṭhāna* (practice of austerities), who was a resident of the *maṭha* at **Āsatī** and who represented *(sākshin)* the god Mahāliṅga, the presiding deity of the temple of that place. As in the case of charter A, here also the purpose for which the grant was made receives no elucidation. Could it be for the purpose of meeting the expenses for the conduct of worship etc. in the temple of Mahāliṅga or for the Śaiva ascetic Nīlakaṇṭha for the performance of his religious austerities? Added to this confusion is the fact that what is granted is not explicitly stated here. From the statement in the grant portion that what is granted is what has been mentioned above *(yath-ōpari-likhitam)* as well as the fact that the royal order is addressed to the residents of Vahaḍhōvī-grāma in Payidhukā-pattalā, it can be surmised that Vahaḍhōvī-grāma is the granted village. Bhaṭṭāraka Kēdārarāśi, the father of the donee Nīlakaṇṭha is no doubt identical with his namesake who figures as the donee in Charter A discussed above. The grant was made after obtaining the permission of the imperial Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachchandra *(asya-prasādataḥ,* lines 21-22). It is significant to note that the boundaries of the granted village are not at all mentioned in the present grant. The gift is stated to be permanent and the donee is entitled to all regular and irregular taxes such as *bhāga-bhōga-kara, pravaṇikara akshapaṭalaprastha, daśa-bandhaka, Viṁśatichhavatha,* etc. (lines 20-21). Then follow (lines 22-28) nine imprecatory and benedictory verses asking people not to infringe the grant in any manner. This copper plate charter was **written** by *paṁḍita* **Jagadhara**, the son of *paṁḍita* **Śrīdhara** of the **Kāyastha** clan (line 28). It was **engraved** by the goldsmith *(suvarṇṇakāra)* **Ṭhakura Ghuḍahastika**, the son of *sādhu* **Jayapāla** (lines 28-29). *Paṇḍita* Jagadhara is no doubt identical with his namesake who appears as the writer of Charter A above. *Paṁḍita* Jagadhara and *Ṭhakura* Ghuḍahastika do not figure as the writer and the engraver respectively in any of the several charters of Jayachchandradēva or his predecessors so far known. In two grants of Jayachchandradēva, dated respectively Vikrama 1231[1] and 1232[2], the writer and the engraver are respectively *Akshapaṭalika Ṭhakura* Vīvika and *lōhara* Sōmēka. For another grant of the same king, the writer was

1. Bhandarkar's List, No. 362.
2. Ibid., No. 368.

Mahākshapaṭalika Śrīpati.[1] A study of these two charters discloses the fact that both Jagadhara and Ghuḍahastika were not familiar with the format or text of the Gāhaḍavāla charters and probably this accounts for the glaring omissions and commissions which abound in these two charters.

Of the **geographical names** that are mentioned in the grant, only **Vahaḍhōvī-grāma** and **Payidhukā-pattalā** in which the former was situated remain to be identified. There is a village by name Bhachroi[2] in Bharthana Tahsil in Etawah District. In the absence of any other similar name occurring in the list of villages of Bharthana Tahsil, one is tempted to identify the granted village Vahaḍhōvī with the above mentioned village though one cannot be certain about this identification. Payidhukā-pattalā, however, cannot be identified.

The present charter is important in as much as it reveals for the first time *Rāṇaka* Amṛitapāla as a feudatory of the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachchandra ruling over the Etawah region. The reference to the existence of a Pāśupata-maṭha at Āsatikā on the banks of the river Yamunā is also of considerable importance. It is quite obvious from the two charters that the feudatory kings of Etawah region viz. *Rāṇakas* Abhayapāla and Amritapāla greatly patronised the Pāśupata-*āchāryas* by their benefactions.

TEXT[3]

[Metres : Verses 1,3, 14-16, 18-23, *Anushṭubh;* verses 2,13, *Indravajrā;* verses 4, 7, 13, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita;,* verses 5-6, 8, 11-12, *Vasantatilakā:* verse 9, *Drutavilambita;* verse 10, *Mālinī;* verse 17, *Śālinī*]

1. Siddham[4] || Ōṁ namaḥ Śivāya || Akuṇṭh-ōtkaṇṭha-vaikuṇṭha-kaṇṭha-pīṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ [|*] saṁrambhaḥ surat-āraṁbhē sa śrī(śrī)yaḥ śrēa(ya)sē=stu vaḥ || 1 || Āsita(d=A)sī(śī) ta- dvi(dyu)ti-vaṁsa(śa)-jātaḥ kshmāpāla-mālāsu-di-

2. vam gatasu [|*] sākshād-Vivasvān=iva bhūri dhāmnā nāmnā ja(Ya)śōvigraha ity=udaraḥ | [| 2*] Tat-sutō=bhūn= **Mahīchandraś**=chandra-dhāma-nibhaṁ nijaṁ (jam) [|*] yēn=āpāram=akūpara-pārē

1. Ibid., Nos. 369, 374-75, 387-89; Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 293; Ibid., Vol. XXXV, p. 211 f., 214 f., 215 f., 217 f., 218 f. and 219 f.
2. *District Population Statistics,* U.P., 19, Etawah *District,* p. 9.
3. From impression. This is No. A 19 of *A.R.I.E.*, 1974-75.
4. Expressed by a symbol.

3. vyāpāritaṁ yaśaḥ || [3*] Tasy=ābhūt= tanayō nay-aika-rasikaḥ krānta-dvishan-maṇḍalē(lō)vidva(dhva)st ōdhara(ddha)ta-dhīra-yōdha-timiraḥ śrī-**Chandradēvō** nṛipaḥ || (|) yēn-ōdāratara-pratāpa-śamit-āśēsha[1] prayō(j-ō)-

4. padravaṁ śrīmad-Gādhipur-ādhirājyaṁ=asamam dōrvikramēṇ=ārjjitam || [4*] Tīrthāni **Kāsi(śi)-Kusi(śi)k-Ōttarakōsal-Eṁdra-sthānīyakāni** paripālayat-ābhi-gamya [|*] hēm=ātma-tulyam=anisaṁ(śaṁ) dada-

5. tā dvijēbhyō yēn=āṁkitā vasumatī . sa(śa)tasa(śa)s=tulābhiḥ || [5*] Tasy=ātmajō **Madanapāla** iti kshitī[ṁ*] draś=chūḍāmaṇir=vvijayatē vi(ni)ja-gē(gō)tra-chandraḥ || (|) yasy=ābhishēka-kalaś- ōllasitaiḥ payōbhiḥ prakshāli-

6. taṁ kali-rajaḥ paṭalan=dharitryāḥ || [6*] Yasy=āsī(sī)d=vijaya-prayāṇa-sama-yē ttu(tu)ṅg-āchcha(cha)l- ōchchai[ś=*]chalan =mādyat-kuṁbhi-pada-krama (m=ā)śra(sa)ma -bhara-bhrasya(śya)n=mahī-māṁḍalē | chūḍā-ratna-vibhinna-tālu-galita-styān-ā-

7. sṛig-udbhāsitaḥ śēsha[ḥ*] pyē(pē)sha-vaśā(śā)d =iva kshama(ṇa)m=asō(sau) krōḍēna(ni)līn-ānanaḥ. || [7*] Tasmād=ājāyata nij-āyata-vā(bā)hu-valli-va(ba) dhvā(ndh-ā)varuddha-nava-rājya-gajō narēndraḥ [|*] sāṁdr-āmṛita-drava-muchāṁ prabhavō gavāṁ yō

8. **Gōviṁdachaṁdra** iti chandra iv=āṁvu(āṁbu)rāsēḥ(śēḥ) || [8*] Na katham=apy= alabhaṁta raṇē-kshamāṁ tisṛishu dikshu gajān=atha vajri(jri)ṇaḥ [|*] kakubhi va(ba)bhrama(mu)r=abhrama(mu) vallabhaḥ(bha)- pratibhaṭā iva yasya ghaṭā-gajāḥ || [9*] Ajani

9. Vijayachandrō nāma tasmān=narēndraḥ surapatir=iva bhūbhṛit=paksha-vichchhēda-dakshaḥ [|*] bhuvana-dalana-hēlā-harmmya-Haṁvīra-nārī-nayana-jalada-[2] dhārā-sā(śā)nta-bhūr-llōka-tāpaḥ || [10*] Lōka-trama(y-ā)kramana-kēli-vibharēṁja-nāya[3] pra-

10. kshā(khyā)ta-kīrtti-vali[4]-varṇṇita-vaibhavāni | yasyā(sya) stri(Tri)vikrama-pada-krama-bhā(bhāṁ) ji bhānti krō(prō)jṛiṁbhayanti Va(Ba)li-rāja-bhayaṁ ja(ya) sāṁ(śāṁ)si || [11*] Yasmins=chalaty[5]=udadhi-nēmi-mahī-jayārtha(ya)-mādyat-karindra-guru-bhāra-nipīḍit=ē-

1. Read *samit-āśēsha.*
2. The letter *da* is engraved above the line.
3. Read °*viśṛiṁkhalāni*
4. Read -*kavi*-°
5. Read *yasmiṁś=chala.*

TWO COPPER PLATE CHARTERS OF GĀHADAVĀLA KING JAYACHCHANDRADĒVA — CHARTER B

11. va jā(yā)ti prajāpati-padaṁ sa(śa)raṇ-ārthinī bhūstu(s=tv=a)ṅgas=turaṅga-nivah-ōttha-rajaś=chhalēna ‖ [12*] Tasmād=adbhuta-vikramād=atha **Jayachchandr-ābhidhānō** nṛipaḥ |[1] bhūpānām=avatīrṇṇa ēsha bhuvan-ōddhārāya Nārāyaṇaḥ | Dvaidhī-bhā-

12. vam=apāsya vigraha-ruchin-dhi[k*]kritya santāsayā[2] sēvantē yam=udagra-va(ba) ndhana-bhayā(ya)-dhvaṁs-ārthinaḥ pārthivāḥ ‖ [13*] Sō=yaṁ samasta-rāja-chakra-saṁsēvita-charaṇaḥ | samasta-rāj-āvalī-virājamānaḥ paramabhaṭā(ṭṭā)-

13. raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramesvara-paramamahesvar-asvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrīmaj-Jayachchhandradēvō vijayī-**Payidhukā-patta-**

14. lāyāṁ **Vahaḍhōvī-grāma-**nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-mantri-purōhita-pratīhā[3]ra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-naimitta(tti)ka-aṁ-

15. tapurika-dūta-kari-turaga-pattan-ākarasthāna-gōkul-ādhikāri-purushān=ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayitv=ādisati cha yathā viditam=astu bhavatāṁ yath=ōpari-lishi(khi)-taṁ samasta-[sa*]jala-sthala[ḥ*] sa-lō-

16. ha-lavaṇ-ākara[ḥ*] sa-gartt-ōshara[ḥ*] sa-madhūk-āmvu(mra)-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-triṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryaṁtaḥ s-ōrddhv- ādhaś=chatur-āghāṭa-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ | **saṁvatsar=ōna-chatvārimsa(śa)tsa(ch=chchha)ta-dvādaśakē Māgha-**

17. sya śi(si)tē **pakshē paurnnamāyāṁ(syāṁ)** | **sōma-vāsarē**, **aṅkē=pi** **sa[ṁ*]vatu(t)** **1239 Māgha su(śu) di 15 sōmē** =dy=ēh= **Āsatikāyāṁ** Yamunāyāṁ snātvā vidhivan=maṁtra-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitṛigaṇāṁs=ta-

18. rpayitvā timira-paṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahatsa(sā)m=ushnarōchisha[ṁ*] samut-thāy=aushadhipati-sakala-śē(śe)sha(kha)ra[ṁ*] samabhyarchchya tri-bhuvana-trātur=Mmahādēvasya pūyāṁ(jāṁ) vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havir-bhujam hutvā mātā pitrō-

---

1. The stroke is redundant.
2. Read *śāntāśayā.*
3. The letter *hā* is engraved below the line.

19. r=ātmanas=cha puvya(ṇya)-yaśō-vivardhayē ‖ Āsatyā[ṁ*] abhyantarasthāya Mahāliṅgāya sūshāṇē[1] tasya[2] maṭha-nivāsāya paramapāsu(śu)patāya cha ‖ ya(ja)pa-niyama-saṁja(ya)ma-dhyān-ānushṭhāna-parāya paramabhaṭṭāraka-

20. śrī-Kīrttivāśa(sa)sa [h*] pautrāya bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Kēdārarāsi(śi)-putrāya bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Nīlakaṁṭhṭhāya gōkarṇṇa-kuśa-latā -pūta-karatal-ōdakam-āchaṁdr-ārkka-ksha (kshi)ty=utha(da) dhi-Gaṁgā-Yamunā yāvaty=atha cha su(hu)-

21. tāśanaṁ pātāl-āṁva(ba)rāṇi tāvach=chhāsanīkṛitya pradatōm=adha[3] yathā dīyanā (mā)na-bhāga-bhōgakara-prama(va)ṇikara-shaḍprastha[4] -dabhaka[5]- tvimsati-kāmluga[6] prabhṛitīn=ājñābhi(vi)dhēyībhūpa(ya) dāsyath=ēti ‖ śrī-

22. ma=Jjayatachandrasya rājñō=py=asya prasādataḥ rāṇak=Āmṛitapālēna pradattaṁ śāsanīkṛitaṁ ‖ [14*] ‖ Bhavanti ch=ātra dharmāt=śaṁ(saṁ)sitau(tāḥ) paurāṇika-slōkāḥ ‖ Bhūmiṁ yah pa(pra)tigṛihṇāti yastu (ś=cha)

23. bhūmi[ṁ*]prayachchhati[|*] ubhau tau puṇya-karmmāṇau niyatau(taṁ) svargga-gāminau [‖*][7] [15*] Saṁ(Śaṁ)khaṁ bhadr-āsanaṁ chchhatraṁ var-āsvā(śvā)-vara-vāraṇāḥ [|*] bhūmi-dānasya chihnāni phalam=ētat=Puraṁ[8]dara [16*][9] ‖

24. Sarvvānnē(n=ē)tāni(n) bhāvinaḥ pārthivēṁdrāḥ(drān) bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāma-bhadraḥ ‖ (|) sāmānyō=yaṁ dharmma-sētur-nṛipāṇām kālē kālē pālanīyō bhava-dbhiḥ ‖ [17*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhi[ḥ*]

25. Sagar-ādē(di)bhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmiṁ(miḥ) tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) ‖ [ ][18*] Gām=ēkāṁ svarṇṇam=ēkam cha bhūmēr=apy=ēkam=angulaṁ(lam) [|*] haran=narakam=āpnōti yāvad=ābhūta-saṁplavaṁ(vam) ‖ [19*] Taḍāgā-nāṁ sa-

26. hasrēṇa [a] sva(śva)mēdha-sa(śa)tēna vā | gavāṁ kōṭi- pradānēna bhūmi-harttā na su(śu)dhyati ‖ [20*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattām=vā yō harēta vasuṁdharā[m |*] sa vishṭhāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha ma-

---

1. Read *Āsatyāṁ abhyaṁtarasthasya mahāliṅgasya sākshiṇē.*
2. Read *tatra.*
3. Read *pradattaṁ.*
4. Read *akshapaṭalaprastha-.*
5. Read *daśabhandhaka.*
6. Read *viṁśati-chhavatha*
7. The metre is *Anushṭubh*. The following eight verses are also in the same metre. Since this is the first imprecatory verse numerical figure 1 is engraved here.
8. The letter *raṁ* is written below the line.
9. Numerical figure 2 is engraved here.

27. ḻjati [|| [21*] *] Vāri-hīnēshv=arannē(ṇyē)shu śu(śu)shka-kōṭṭa(ṭa)ra-vāsinaḥ [|*] kṛishṇa-sarapāś=cha yā(jā)yaṁtē dēva-vra(bra)hmasva-hāriṇaḥ || [22*][*] Shashṭi[ṁ*] kōṭi[1]-sahasrāṇiṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidaḥ || (|) āchhē(chchhē)-ttā ch=ānumaṁ-

28. [tā cha] tānnē(ny=ē)va narakē vasēt | [23*] Likhitam=idaṁ tāṁvra-paṭṭakaṁ **Kāyastha-paṁḍita- śrī- Jagadharēna** paṁḍita- śrī-**Śrīdhara** sūtēna utkīrṇṇam= idaṁ tāmra -paṭṭakam

29. suvarnnakāra-**ṭhakura-śrī-Ghudahastikēna** sādhu- śrī-**Jayapāla** -sutēn=ēti ||[2] ||

---

1. Read *varsha-*.
2. There is an ornamental design between these punctuation marks.

NO. 5 – UMARIYA PLATES OF VIJAYASIMHADEVA : YEAR 944

(2 Plates)

Ku. Usha Jain, Jabalpur

These plates were found buried in a field at Umariya, a small village in Pawai tahsil of Panna district, Madhya Pradesh, by one Baladeva while he was digging for earth. The finder deposited the plates in the Police Station at Pawai from where they were sent to the Curator, State Museum, Dhubela, Nowgong, (M.P.) for examination. Shri H.H.K. Kudeshila, the Curator of the museum brought the plates to the office of the Deputy Director, Archaeology and Museum, Jabalpur for further examination and study. The contents of the inscription were noticed in the local newspapers of Jabalpur dated 30th May 1979. I edit the inscription here, from the photographs and the original plates, with the kind permission of Shri Kudeshila and the Deputy Director.

It is a set of two copper plates, each plate measuring 43 cm in length and 26 cm in width. They were originally held together by a ring passing through a hole in the middle of the bottom of the first plate and top of the second plate but, now the ring and the seal are detached from the plates. The seal has a circular surface and beaded border. In the upper portion of the seal is seen a seated figure of Gaja-lakshmī while the bottom portion shows a bull between two incense-pots. In between the figure of the goddess and that of the bull is engraved the legend '*Śrīmad-Vijayasimhadēvah*. The seal appears to have been badly beaten and is, as a result, somewhat obliterated. The weight of the two plates is 5,050 gms while the seal and the ring together weigh 1,100 gms.

Each of the two plates carries writing on one side only. . The inscription is in a very good state of preservation. The rims of the plates are thickened and raised. There are twenty three lines on each plate. The average size of the letters is about 1 cm.

The characters are Nāgarī of the 12th century A.D. and the language is Sanskrit. The record is composed partly in verse and partly in prose. The verses are not numbered. The first twenty three lines contain 32 verses followed by the formal part of the grant in prose upto line forty two. Then come nine benedictive and imprecatory verses followed by one more verse introducing the writer of the text. The record was written on the plates by Kēsava, who was the *arthalēkhin* of the king (Chēdirāja) and son of Dāmōdara and grandson of Vatsarāja.[1] The engraver was *sūtradhara* Sīhada, whose name has been mentioned at the end of the record.

As regards orthography, we may notice that the letter *v* is employed to denote

1. He is mentioned among the officers of the king and among the donees as well.

b, as in *Vrahmaṇē* in line 1, *vāndhava* in line 2, *vandhau* in line 9, etc. The letter *s* is used for *ś*, as in *rāsi* in line 2, *Īsvina* and *sukla* in line 28, etc. The consonant following *r* is doubled in *°arṇṇava* in line 6, *Karṇṇa* in line 9, *dharmma* in line 13, *prakurvvan* in line 15, etc.

The plates were issued by **Vijayasiṁhadēva** of the **Kalachuri** dynasty of **Tripuri**. His pedigree is traced to Vishṇu. The mythological and legendary ancestors, **Brahmā**, **Atri**, **Abdhibandhu** (the moon), **Bōdhana** (Budha), **Purūravā**, **Bharata** and **Kārtavīrya** are mentioned in verses 1-5. The verse 6 mentions the name of the Kalachuri family. In verse 7 we are told that in that family was born king **Yuvarājadēva (II)** who was ruling at Tripuri. The next verse (verse 8) mentions **Kōkalla (II)** as son and successor of Yuvarājadēva (II). The qualities of Kōkalla (II) are further described in verse 9. The description of **Gāṅgēyadēva**, son of Kōkalla (II), is found in verses 10-11, wherein we are informed that he was famous by the name of **Vikramāditya**. We are further told that, wishing to run away from him, the king of **Kuntala** ceased to wield his spear. Gāṅgēya attained salvation under the banyan tree at **Prayāga** and was followed on the funeral pyre by his hundred and fifty wives (verse 12). His son and successor was **Karṇadeva** who constructed at **Kasī** a high temple which he named **Karnameru** (verse 13). He also established a settlement of the Brāhmaṇas called **Karnāvatī** (verse 14). Verses 15-16 inform that Karṇa married a **Huṇa** princess named **Avalladēvī** and from her he had a son named **Yaśahkarna** whom he himself anointed as king. Verses 17 and 19 are in praise of **Gayākarṇa**, son and successor of Yaśaḥkarṇa. Gayākarṇa was married to **Alhaṇadēvī** and from her **Narasiṁha** was born (verse 20). The qualities of Narasiṁha are described in verses 21 to 25. He was succeeded by his brother **Jayasiṁhadēva**, who is mentioned in verse 26. Verse 27 states that on hearing of the coronation of the illustrious Jayasiṁhadēva, the **Gūrjara** king disappeared, the **Turushka** lost the strength of his arms, the lord of **Kuntala** suddenly renounced all love-sports and other kings also, leaving the earth through apprehension, crossed the ocean. Jayasiṁha's queen was **Gōsaladēvī**. Her qualities are described in verses 28 to 30. She gave birth to two princes named **Vijayasiṁha** and **Ajayasiṁha** (verse 31). The first named is praised in verse 32, which is followed by the prose portion giving him the imperial titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, He is also called the lord of **Trikaliṅga** and a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara who mediated on the feet of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vāmadēva**.

The plates under study were issued by this Vijayasiṁha. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of three villages namely **Bhāthīgrāma** situated in **Vadigāmva-pattala**, **Valahaḍīgrāma** situated in **Khāmta-pattalā** and **Amilavāḍagrāma** to the brāhmaṇas on **the first tithi of the bright fortnight of the month of Aśvina in the year 944**. The donation was actually made by *Rāṇaka* **Kumārapāla**, a feudatory of the king Vijayasiṁha for the merit of his wife named **Mōkhā** and later on approved by the king.

The villages were granted with their four boundaries well determined, inclusive of water and land, the mango and *madhūka* trees, together with its pits and barren land and together with mines of salt extending to its boundaries. The inhabitants of the given villages were asked to pay all the taxes to the donees as were paid to the king in the past.

The granted villages were divided into twenty and a half parts. The details of the grant including the names of the donees and shares allotted to them are as follows:

1. Two shares *(padas)* to *Ṭhakkura* Kīrtisiṁha, who was *Mahāpradhāna* and the son of *dushṭasādhya* Padmasiṁha of Kāśyapa-gōtra with three *pravaras;*

2. One *pada* to *Ṭhakkura* Lakhaṇapāla who was the son of *Ṭhakkura Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Purushōttama belonging to Bhāradvāja-gōtra with three *pravaras;*

3. One *pada* to *Arthalēkhin Ṭhakkura* Kēśava, grandson of *Mahāpradhāna Arthalēkhin Ṭhakkura* Daśamūlika, belonging to Kāśyapa-gōtra with three *pravaras;*

4. One *pada* to *Trivēdī* Vishṇu, son of *Trivēdī* Gaṅgāditya of Pārāśara-gōtra with three *pravaras;*

5. One *pada* to two brothers of Vishṇu named Sūpaḍhā and Mahāśarman;

6. Half *pada* to *Paṇḍita* Jayapatika, son of *Paṇḍita* Lakshmaṇa belonging to Bhāradvāja-gōtra with three *pravaras;*

7. One *pada* to *Trivēdī* Vēdūka, son of *Trivēdī* Gaṅgāditya belonging to Pārāśara-gōtra with three *pravaras;*

8. One *pada* to Bhāūka, the brother of Vēdūka;

9. Half *pada* to *Dvivēdī* Mahīdhara, son of *Dvivēdī* Rālha belonging to Bhāradvāja-gōtra with three *pravaras;*

10. Half *pada* to *Dvivēdī* Dhārūka, son of *Dvivēdī* Tālhū belonging to Maunasa-gōtra with three *pravaras;*

11. Half *pada* to *Dvivēdī* Tīkamva, son of *Dvivēdī* Dālā belonging to Gaurivīta-gōtra with three *pravaras;*

12. Half *pada* to *Dvivēdī* Narasiṁha, son of *Dvivēdī* Nārāyaṇa belonging to Kauśika-gōtra with three *pravaras;*

13. Half *pada* to *Dvivēdin* Ālhaṇa, son of *Dvivēdin* Nārāyaṇa belonging to Kauśika-gōtra with three *pravaras;*

14. One *pada* to *Paṇḍita* Kākūka,son of *Paṇḍita* Pālhū belonging to Vasishṭa-gōtra with three *pravaras;*

15. Half *pada* to *Paṇḍita* Kīlhūka, son of *Paṇḍita* Jagana belonging to Kauśika-gōtra with three *pravaras;*

16. One *pada* to *Paṇḍita* Gaṅgādhara, son of *Paṇḍita* Tīkamva belonging to Bhārgava-gōtra with three *pravaras;*

17. One *pada* to *Dvivēdin* Gayādhara, son of *Dvivēdin* Lakshmīdhara, belonging to Bhāradvāja-gōtra with three *pravaras;*

18. Half *pada* to Vidyādhara, son of Gayādhara;

19. One *pada* to *Trivēdin* Pāṇidhara, son of *Trivēdin* Dāmōdara, belonging to Madragāra-gōtra with three *pravaras;*

20. One *pada* to *Trivēdin* Kēlhaka, son of *Trivēdin* Nārāyaṇa belonging to Vasishṭha-gōtra with three *pravaras;*

21. One *pada* to *Chauvē (chaturvēdin)* Sīlaṇa, son of *Chauvē* Pāpē belonging to Vatsa-gōtra with five *pravaras;*

22. One *pada* to *Dvivēdin* Pīthūka, son of *Dvivēdin* Mādhava belonging to Bhāradvāja-gōtra with three *pravaras;*

23. Half *pada* to *Paṇḍita* Sōḍhadēva, son of *Kāyastha Paṇḍita* Sōme;

24. and half *pada* to *Paṇḍita* Salakhaṇa, son of *Paṇḍita* Āmai;

25. Half *pada* to *Paṇḍita* Rālhūka, son of *Paṇḍita* Gālhū belonging to Vasishṭha-gōtra with three *pravaras.*

Thus twenty and a half shares of the granted villages were distributed among twenty six donees. The number of shares in each case has been expressed in words.

Among the officers addressed in the inscription (lines 25-28) are the *Mahārājñī*, *Mahārājaputra* Ajayasiṁhadēva, *Mahāmantrin* and *Rājaguru* **Vimalaśiva**, who was a Śaivāchārya, *Mahāpurōhita* **Ratnadhara**, *Dharmapradhāna*, *Mahāmahattaka Ṭhakkura*

Kīrtisiṁha, *Sāndhivigrahika Ṭhakkura* **Lakhanapāla**; *Mahāsāmanta*, *Mahākshapaṭalika*, *Mahāpradhāna* and *arthalēkhinṬhakkura* Kēśava, *Mahāpratīhāra* **Bhīmasiṁha**, *Dushṭa-sādhya, Charādhyaksha, Bhāṇḍāgārika, Pramattavāra* and *Aśvasādhanikika*. Of these Ajayasiṁha is mentioned in the Bhērāghāṭ inscription,[1] Kumbhi plates[2] and Bamhani-Jhulapur plates.[3] In the Kumbhi plates the title of *Mahākumāra* has been given to him but in the Bamhani-Jhulapur plates and in the present charter as well, his title is that of *Mahārājaputra*. Verse 31 of the present inscription clearly states that Ajayasimha was the younger brother of Vijayasiṁha. Perhaps, Ajayasiṁha did not get the Kalachuri throne of Tripurī as we find Trailōkyamalla (born in Kalachuri-Chēdi year 949)[4] ruling in Kalachuri-Chēdi year 963.[5] *Śaivāchārya Rājaguru* Vimalaśiva is mentioned in the Bamhani-Jhulapur plates of 949, Jabalpur plates of Jayasiṁha (Kalachuri-Chēdi year 918)[6] Jabalpur plates of Jayasiṁha, (Kalachuri-Chēdi year 926),[7] Rewa Stone Inscription of Vijayasiṁha (Kalachuri-Chēdi year 96[.])[8] and Dhurēti plates of Kalachuri-Chēdi year 963.[9] *Mahāmahattaka* Kīrtisiṁha is mentioned in the Bamhani-Jhulapur plates, Kumbhi plates and Rewa Stone Inscription of 96[.] of Vijayasiṁha. *Arthalēkhin Ṭhakkura* Kēśava finds reference in the above Rewa Stone Inscription. *Sāndhivigrahika* Lakhanapāla is also mentioned in the Bamhani-Jhulapur plates and the Rewa Stone Inscription. *Mahāpratīhāra* Bhīmasiṁha is known from the Bamhani-Jhulapur plates and Rewa Inscription.

As stated above the inscription is dated in the year 944, on Sunday, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in Hasta-nakshatra. This date must evidently be referred to the **Kalachuri-Chēdi** era. The *tithi śukla pratipada* of the Adhika Āśvina month in the expired Kalachuri-Chēdi year 944 regularly corresponds to **1193 A.D., August 29, Sunday.**

Vijayasiṁha is known from four stone inscriptions[10] and four copper-plate records including the present one.[11] In the Rewa Stone Inscription (Kalachuri-Chēdi year 944),[12] his feudatory chief Malayasiṁha is said to have subdued two chiefs named

1. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 69.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 645 ff.
3. Unpublished. Deposited in Mandala Museum.
4. Known from Bamhani-Jhulapur plates.
5. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 72
6. *Ibid.*, No. 63.
7. *Ibid.*, No. 64.
8. *Ibid.*, No. 70
9. Ibid., No. 72.
10. Rewa Stone Inscription of Kalachuri-Chēdi year 944; Bhērāghāṭ temple inscription; Gōpālpur Stone Inscription and Rewa Stone Inscription of Kalachuri-Chēdi year 96[.]
11. Three other copper plate records are : Rewa plates of V.S. 1253, Kumbhi plates of Kalachuri-Chēdi year 932 and Bamhani-Jhulapur plates of Kalachuri-Chēdi year 949.
12. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 67.

Salakshaṇa and Vikrama. In the present record, we find the name of *Rāṇaka* Kumārapāla, the donor, who appears to be another important feudatory of Vijayasiṁha.

As regards **geographical names** mentioned in this inscription, **Tripurī** is the same as Tewar, a small village 13 kms from Jabalpur. Kuntala, Prayāga, Kāśī, Gūrjara, have been already identified. The **pattalā** of **Vadigāmva** may be identified with **Badagaon**, an important Kalachuri centre in the Katni-Murawara tahsil of the Jabalpur district. The donated village **Bhāthī** is **Bhēḍā**, situated in Patawari circle No. 7 near Baḍagaon. The **pattalā** of **Khāṁta** is represented by the modern village of **Khāmha** near Rithi, a railway station on the Katni-Bina line of the Central Railway. **Valahaḍi** may be identified with modern **Barahaṭa** near Rithi, while **Amilavaḍagrāma** remains unidentified.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verses 19,20, 23, 24, 28-31, 34-39 *Anushṭubh;* verse 6 *Āryā;* verse 2 *Aupachchhandasika;* verses 17 and 22 *Indravajrā;* verses 1, 10, 13, 15, 32 *Mālinī;* verses 14, 33 *Śālinī;* verse 27 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita;* verses 9, 11, 18 *Upajāti;* verses 3-5, 7-8, 12, 16, 21, 25-26 *Vasantatilakā*]

First Plate

1 Siddham[2] [||*] Ōṁ namō Vra(Bra)hmaṇē ||Jayati Jalaja-nābhas-tasya nābhī-sarōjaṁ jayati. jayati tasmāj-jātavān=Abja-sūtiḥ || (|) atha jayati sa tasy-āpatyam=Atris-tad-akshṇas=tad-anu jayati janma-prāptavān= Abdhivaṁ(baṁ)dhuḥ || [1*] Atha vō (Bō)-

2. dhanam-ādi-rāja-putraṁ gṛiha-jāmātaram=avja(bja)-vā(bā)ndhavasya | tanayaṁ janayāṁ babhūva rājā gagan-ābhōga-taḍāga-rājahaṁsaḥ || [2*] Putraṁ Purūravasam =aurasam =āpa sūnūr=ddēvasya sapta-ja[la] rāsi(śi)-rasāyanasya | āsīd=ananya-

3 sama-bhāgya-sa(śa) t-ōpabhōgyā yasy-Ōrvaśī=īva sukalatram=ih=ōrvvarā cha || [3*] Atr=ānvayē kila śat-ādhika-sapti-mēdha-yūp-ōparuddha-yamun-ōkta-vivikta-kīrttiḥ | sapt-ābdhi-ratna-rasa(śa)n-ābharaṇ-ābhirāma-viśvaṁbharā-su(śu)bha-ratō

4. Bharatō babhūva || [4*] Hēlā-gṛihīta-punar=ukta-samasta-śayō(strō)[gōtrō*] jayaty=adhikam=asya sa Kārttavīryaḥ || (|) atrē(tr=ai)va Haihaya-nṛip-ānvaya-pūrva-puṁsi rāj=ēti nāma śaśalakshmaṇi chakshamē yaḥ || [5*] Sa Himāchal= aiva **Kalachuri**-vaṁśam=a-

---

1. From photographs.

2. Expressed by a symbol.

5 sūta kshamābhritāṁ bharttā | muktā-maṇibhir=iv=āmala-vṛittaiḥ=pūtaṁ mahīpatibhiḥ || [6*] Tatr=ānvayē nayavatāṁ pravarō narēndraḥ Pauraṁdarīm=iva purīṁ **Tripurīṁ** punānaḥ | āsīn=mad-āndha-nṛipa-gandha-gaj-ādhirāja-ni-

6 rmmātha-kēsari-yuvā **Yuvarājaḥ**(ja)[dēvaḥ*] [[7*] Siṁhāsanē nṛipati-siṁham=amushya sūnum=ārūrupann=avati- bhartur=amātya-mukhyāḥ | **Kōkallam** =arṇṇava-chatushṭaya-vīchi-saṁgha-saṁghaṭṭa-ruddha-chaturaṅga-chamū-prachāram || [8*] Iṁdu-

7 prabhāṁ nindati hāra-guchchhaṁ jugu[p*]satē chandanam=ākshipantī | yatra prabhau dūrataraṁ prayātē viyōgin=īva pratibhāti kīrttiḥ || [9*] Marakatamaṇi-paṭṭa-prauḍha-vakshāḥ smit-āsyō nagara-parigha-deghim[1] laṁghaṁ(gha)-

8 yan-dōr-dvayēna | śirasi kuliśa-pātō vairiṇāṁ vīra-lakshmī patir=abhavad=apatyaṁ yasya **Gāṁgēyadēvaḥ** || [10*] Sa vīra-siṁhāsana-mauli-ratnaṁ sa **Vikramāditya** iti prasiddhaḥ | yasmād=akasmād=apayāna-

9 m-ichchhan=na . **Kuntalaḥ** kuntalatāṁ babhāra || [11*] Prāptē **Prayāga**-vaṭa-mūla-nivēsa(śa)-vaṁ(baṁ)dhau: sārdhaṁ śatēna gṛihiṇībhir=amutra muktiṁ(ktim) | putrō=sya khaḍga-dalit-āri-karīndra-kumbha-muktāphalaiḥ sma kakubhō=rchchati **Karṇṇadēvaḥ** || [12*] Kanaka-

10 śikhara-vēllad-vaijayantī-samīra-glapita-gagana-khēlat-khēcharī-chakra-khēdaḥ | kim =aparam=iha Ka(Kā)śyāṁ yasya dugdhābdhi-vēlā-valaya-va(ba)hala-kīrttēḥ kīrttanaṁ **Karṇṇamēruḥ** || [13*] Agryaṁ dhāma srē(śrē)yasō vēda-vi-

11 dyā-vallī-kaṁdaḥ svaḥ sravantyāḥ kirīṭaṁ (ṭam) ·| Vra(Bra)hma-staṁgdho(ṁbhō) yēna **Karṇṇavatī**=ti pratyashṭā(shṭhā)pi kshmā-tala-Brahma-lōkaḥ || [14*] Ajani Kalachurīṇāṁ svāminā tēna **Hūṇ**-ānvaya-jala-nidhi-lakshmyāṁ śrīmad=**Āvalla-dēvyāṁ**(vyām) | śa-

12 śabhṛid-udaya-śaṁkā-kshubdha-dugdh-ābdhi-vīchī-sahacharita-yaśaḥ śrīḥ śrī-**Yaśaḥ** (śaḥ)**karṇṇadēvaḥ** || [15*] Chaṁdr-ārkka-dīpavati-parvvata-rāja-pūrṇṇa-kuṁbh-āvabhāsini mah-ābdhi-chatushka-madhyō(dhyē) | chakrē purōhita-puraskṛiti-pūta-ka-

13. rmmā dharmmātmanō=sya hi pit=aiva mah-ābhishēkaṁ(kam) || [16*] Tasy=ātmajō=bhūd=atulapratāpaḥ śrīmad- **Gayākarṇṇa** iti pratītaḥ | yasy=āhavēsh=ūddhata-vairi-kaṁṭha-chchhēd-āsra-pūrṇṇ=ēva dhar=ānuraktā || [17*] Titāṁsunā dikshu ya-

---

1. Read *dairghyaṁ*

UMARIYA PLATES OF VIJAYASIMHADĒVA – PLATE I

i

K.V. Ramesh

14. śō-vitānam=unnamra-vaṁśēna guṇ-ānvitēna | yēn=āri-kāṁtā-hṛidayēshu gāḍham= ārōpitaḥ saṁjati[1] sō(śō)ka-śa[ṁ*]kuḥ ||[18*] Yat-pratāp-ānalasy=āsau kō=py= apūrvvaḥ kriyā-kramaḥ | pravishṭaṁ varddhayaty=anyam=a-

15 tīva dahati drutaṁ(tam) ||[19*] Asāv=**Alhaṇadēvyāṁ** śrī-**Narasiṁha**-narēśvaraṁ (ram) | saṁvēdanam=iv=ēchchhāyāṁ prayatnaṁ sushuvē sutaṁ(tam) || [20*] Uchchair=Hiraṇyakaśipu-pratipādanēna prītiṁ parāṁ vibudha-sa[ṁ]hatishu prakurvvan |

16 sau[ṁ*]darya-sāra-vinivārita-Māra-garvvaś=chitraṁ tath-āpy=ayam=ahō Narasiṁhadēvaḥ || [21*] Yō vrā(brā)hmaṇāṁ pāṇishu paṁchakhā(shā)ṇi dānāni dhattē payasaḥ prishaṁti | tair=ēva trishṇām=avadhūya tē cha ratnākarē=pi prathayaṁty=avajñāṁ(jñām) ||[22*] Mahī-bharttā mahā-dānau(nai)s=tē(tai)s=tulāpuru-

17 yaṁty=avajñāṁ(jñām) ||[22*] Mahī-bharttā mahā-dānau(nai)s=tē(tai)s=tulāpurushādibhiḥ | garimṇā Mērur=atyarthaṁ kritārthayati yō=rthinaḥ ||[23*] Kurvvan= mahīṁ vrā(brā)hmaṇasād=ari-kshatra-niva(ba)rhaṇaḥ | sārddhaṁ Paraśurāmēṇa yaḥ spardhām=adhirōhati || [23*] Kaḥ

18 kīrttanāya vibhavaty=anayōr=mahatvasy-ōtkrishṭa-sau(śau) rya-vijay-ōrjjita-kīrttilakshmyōḥ | dhairy-ādharīkṛita-mah-ārṇṇavayōr=ap=īshṭa-vispashṭa-puṇya(ṇya)-janayōr=Ajarāja-kīrttyōḥ || [25*] Tasy=ānujō narapatir=**Jjayasiṁhadē**-

19 **vaḥ** sau(śau)ry-ōjva(jjva)lair=api nṛipaiḥ kriyamāṇa-sēvaḥ | yad=dāna-lupta-yaśas= ēva sura-drumēṇa vyadrāvi bhūtala-talē Va(Ba)linā pralīnaṁ(nam) || [26*] Nashṭaṁ **Gūrjjara**-bhūbhujā[ṁ] bhuja-va(ba)laṁ mukta[ṁ*] **Turushkēṇa** cha tyaktaḥ **Kuntala**-

20 nāyakēna sahasā kandarppa-kēli-kramaḥ | śrutvā śrī-Jayasiṁhadēva-nṛipatē rājyābhishēkaṁ nṛipāḥ samtrāsād=aparē=py=apāsya jagatīṁ pāraṁ yayur=vvāridhēḥ || [27*] Kalpavall=īva kalpadrōr=Jāhnav=īva payō-

21. nidhē[ḥ*] | jayatāt=tasya bhūpasya patnī **Gōśa(sa)ladēvy** =asau || [28*] Kalākallōlinīṁ(nī)-puṇya-prapā saty-ōtsava-sthitiḥ | kṛipā-purī parā-buddhō(ddhi)r= vvisu(śu)ddhiḥ sannidhiḥ sri(śri)yāṁ(yaḥ) || [29*] Drishṭir=yasyāḥ sudhāvrishṭiḥ sanni-

22 dhiś=ch=āpi sa[nni]dhiḥ | vāṇī chintāmaṇiti(r=ni)tyaṁ jīyād-Gōsaladēvy=asau || [30*] Putraṁ **Vijayasiṁh**-ākhyaṁ y=āsūta dyaur=iv=āruṇaṁ(ṇam) | anyaṁ ch-**Ajayasiṁh**=ābhidhānaṁ s=ēva sudhā-nidhiṁ (dhim) || [31*] Ramaṇa-

1. Read -*saṁyati*.

23. gurā(ṇa)-nikētaḥ kētanaṁ maṅgalānāṁ prachuratara-yasō(śō)bhiḥ sō(śō)bhitas= tat=tanūjaḥ | nṛipatir=avani-bhānur=vvisva(śva)-visrā(śrā)nta-bhānur=jjayati Vijayasiṁhaḥ saṁhat-ārāti-siṁhaḥ || [32*] Sa cha parana(ma)bhaṭṭā-

Second Plate

24. raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-parama-māhēśvara-Trikaliṅg-ādhipati-nija-bhuj-ōpārjji-

25. t=āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati śrīmad-Vijayasiṁhadē[va*] ētē vijayinaḥ || Mahārājñī-śrī [Mahārājaputra-śrī-Ajayasiṁhadēva || Mahāmaṁtri

26 'Saivāchārya-bhaṭṭāraka-śrīmad=rājaguru- **Vimalaśiva** || Mahāpurōhita-paṁḍita-śrī-**Ratnadhara** || Dharmma-pradhāna || Mahāmahattaka Ṭhakkura-śrī-**Kīrttisiṁha** || Sāndhivigrahika-Ṭhakkura-śrī **Lakhaṇapāla** || Ma-

27 hāsāmanta | Mahākshapaṭalika | Mahāpradhān=Ārthalēkhi-Ṭhakkura-śrī-**Kēśava** || Mahāpratīhāra-śrī- **Bhīmva(ma)siṁha**[1] | Dushṭasādhya | Charādhya[ksha*] | Bhāṁḍāgārika | Pramattavāra | Aśvasādhanika it=yētāṁ(tā)n=anyāṁścha-(ś=cha) pradā-

28 syamāna-grāma-nivāsi-janapadāṁś=ch=āhūya yath-ārhaṁ mānayati vō(bō)dhayanti (ti) samājñāpayati cha[|*] Yathā viditam=astu bhavatāṁ asmin **saṁvatsarē Samvat 944 Āsvi(śvi)na-māsi su(śu)kla-pakshē**

29. **Pratipadi Hastārkkē**[2] || **Vaḍi-gāmva-pattalāyāṁ Bhāṭhī-grāmaḥ Khāṁta-pattalāyāṁ Valahaḍī-grāma** tta(s=ta)thā tatrē(tr=ai)va **Amilavāḍa-grāma** iti grāma-trayaṁ sva-sīmā-paryantaṁ chatur-āghāṭa-visu(śu)ddhaṁ sa-gō-pracharaṁ sa-ja-

30. la-sthalaṁ s-āmra-madhūkaṁ sa-lavaṇ-ākaraṁ sa-gartt-ōsharaṁ sa-nirggama-pravēsaṁ(śaṁ) sa-jāṁgal-ānūpaṁ vṛiksh-ārām-ōdbhid-ōdyāna-triṇ-ādi-sahitaṁ bhōgakara-pravanicharī[3] rasavatī-Kāmata-vāḍa-daṁḍamma(m=ma)rgganakā(ka)-

31 vīśēṇim=ādāya paṭṭakil-ādāya dushṭasādhy-ādāya 'vaishasvi(yi)k-ādāy-ādi-kṛita-karishya[māṇa] - sarvv-ādāya-sahitaṁ sa-nadī-parvvataṁ sa-ghaṭṭ-ādāyaṁ sarvva-vā(bā)dhā-vivarjjitaṁ | **rāṇaka Kuṁvarapālasy=āsmāsiḥ(bhiḥ)** sē-

---

1. These two letters, originally omitted, have been inserted within the narrow space available.
2. Read *Hastarkshē.*
3. Read *pravaṇikara-.*

UMARIA PLATES OF VIJAYASIMHA DĒVA – PLATE II

From Photograph



K V Ramesh

32 vā-prītaiḥ śāsanīkṛitya prattaṁ | Tēna cha sva-priyāyāḥ **Mōkh**-ābhidhāyāḥ 'sreyaḥ saṁpattayē nānā-gōtrēbhyō vrā(brā) hmaṇēbhyaḥ udaka-pūrvvakatvēna śāsanīkṛitya pradattaṁ | Tad=anumatam=asmākam=iti matvā sarvvaṁ

33 sarvvadā bhavadbhiḥ(dbhi)r=ājñā-vidha(dhē)yair=bhūtvā paripāla-nīya[m*] || Tataś=cha vrā(brā)hmaṇāḥ || Kāsya(śya)pa-gōtrasya triḥpravarasya Dushṭasādhya-śrī-Padmasiṁha-sutasya Mahāpradhāna-Ṭhakkura-sri-Kırttisimhaslya padadvayaṁ Bhāradvāja-gōtrasya

34 triḥpravarasya Mahāsāndhivigrahika-Ṭhakkura-śrī-Purushōttama-sutasya Ṭhakkura śrī-Lakhaṇapālasya pravaraṇasya[1] || Kāśyapa-gōtrasya triḥpravaraṇasya[1] Mahāpradhān-Ārthalēkhi-Ṭhakkura-śrī-Daśamūlika-naptuḥ Ārthalēkhi-Ṭhakkura-śrī-

35 Kēśavasya padam=ēkaṁ || Pārāsa(śa)ra-gōtrasya triḥpravaraṇasya[1] tri | Gaṁgāditya-sutasya tri | Vī(Vi)shṇōḥ padam=ēkaṁ | (||) Tathā bhrātṛi-Sūpadha-Mahāsa(śa)rmmayōḥ padam=ēkaṁ | (||) Bhāradvāja-gōtrasya triḥpravarasya paṁ | Lakshmaṇa-sutasya paṁ | Jayapatika-

36 sya pad-ārddhaṁ | (||) pārāsa(śa)ra-gōtrasya triḥpravaraṇasya[1] | Gaṁgāditya-sutasya tri | Vēdūkasya padam=ēkaṁ | (||) Tathā bhrātṛi-Bhāūkasya padama(m=ē)kaṁ |(||) Bhāradvāja-gōtrasya triḥpravarasya dvi | Rālha-sutasya dvi | Mahīdharasya pad-ārddhaṁ | (||) Maunasa-gō-

37 trasya triḥpravarasya dvi | Tālhū-sutasya dvi | Dhārūkasya pad-ārddhaṁ | (||) Gaurvvīta[2] -gōtrasya triḥpravarasya dvī(dvi) | Ḍālā-sutasya dvi | Tīkamvasya pad-ārddhaṁ | (||) Gōrvvīta[2]-gōtrasya triḥpravarasya dvi | Nārāyaṇa-sutasya dvi | Narasiṁhasya pad-ārddham ||

38 Kauśika-gōtrasya triḥpravarasya dvi | Nārāyaṇa-sutasya dvi | Ālhaṇasya pad-ārddham | (||) Vasishṭa(shṭha)-gōtrasya triḥpravaraṇsya[1] paṁḍita-śrī-Pālhū-sutasya paṁḍita-Kākūkasya padam=ēkaṁ | (||) Kauśika-gōtrasya triḥpravaraṇasya[1] paṁ | Jagana-sutasya

39 paṁḍita-Kīlhūkasya pad-ārddham | (||) Bhārggava-gōtrasya triḥpravaraṇasya[1] paṁ | Tīkamva-sutasya paṁḍita-Gaṁgādharasya padam=ēkaṁ |(||) Bhāradvāja-gā(gō) trasya triḥpravaraṇasya[3] dvi | Lakshmīdhara-sutasya dvi | Gayādharasya padam=ēkaṁ | (||) Tathā tataputra-[3]

---

1. Read *pravarasya.*
2. Read *Gaurivīta-*
3. Read *tat=putra.*

40 Vidyādharasya pad-ārddhaṁ | | Madragāra-gōtrasya triḥpravarasya tri | Dāmōdara-sutasya tri | Pāṇidharasya padam=ēkaṁ | (||) Vasishṭa(shṭha)-gōtrasya triḥpravara-ṇasya[1] tri | Nārāyaṇa-sutasya tri | Kēlhakasya padam=ēkaṁ | (| |) Vatsa-gōtrasya paṁcha-pravarasya

41 Chauvē[|*] Pāpē-sutasya Chauvē[|*] Sīlaṇasya padam=ēkaṁ |(||) Bhāradvāja-gōtrasya triḥpravarasya dvi | Mādhava-sutasya dvi | Pīthūkasya padam=ēkaṁ | (||) Kāyastha-paṁḍita-Sōmē-sutasya paṁḍita-Sōḍhadēvasya pad-ārddhaṁ |(| |) tathā paṁḍita Āmai-sutasya paṁ-

42 ḍita Salakhaṇēkasya pad-ārddhaṁ | (||) Vasishṭa(shṭha)-gōtra[sya*] tri-pravara [sya*] paṁ Gālhū-suta[sya*] paṁ Rālhūkasya pad-ārddhaṁ |(||). Atra ch=ābhyarthanā dātur=bhavati yathā ||[2] || Sarvvān=ētā[n*]=bhāvinaḥ pārthivēṁdrān=bhūyō bhūyō ryā(yā)chatē Rāmabhadraḥ | sāmāmyō(nyō)= yaṁ dharmma-sētur=nṛipāṇī(ṇāṁ) kālē kālē pā-

43 lanīyō mahadbhiḥ || [33*] Va(Ba)hubir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-ādhi (di)bhiḥ ||(|) yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phala(lam) ||[34*] Suvarṇṇam=ēkāṁ(kaṁ) gām=ēkā(kāṁ) bhūmēr=apy=ēkam=a[ṁ*]gulaṁ(lam) | haran=narakam=āpnōti yāvad=āhūta-saṁplavaṁ(vam) || [35*] Taḍāgānāṁ sahasrēṇa a-

44 śvamēdha-śatēna cha | gavā[ṁ*] kōṭi-pradāna(nē)na bhūmi-harttā na su(śu)ddhyati || [36*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō hara(rē)ta vasuṁdharāṁ(rām) | sva-vishṭāyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha majjati || [37*] Phāla-kṛishṭāṁ mahīṁ dadyāt=sa-vī(bī)jāṁ śa(sa)sya-śālim(li)nīṁ(nīm) | yāva-

45 t=sūrya-kṛitā-lōka(kā)ttā(s=tā)vat=svarggē mahīyatē || [38*] Shashṭiṁ varsha sahasrāṇi svaraggē vasati bhūmidaḥ | āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || [39*] Vāri-hīnēshv=araṇyēshu su(śu)shka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ | kṛishṇa-sarppās=tu jāyantē dēva-vra(bra)hma-

46 [sva*]-hāriṇaḥ || [40*] Anyāyēna hṛitā bhūmir=anyāyēna tu hāritā | haratō hārayaṁtas=cha dahaty=āsaptamaṁ kulaṁ(lam) || [41*] Vatsarājasya pautrēṇa śrī Dāmōdara su(sū)nunā | likhinaṁ (taṁ), Chēdi-rājasya **Kēśavēn**=ārthalēkhināṁ (nā) || [42*] sūtradhāra-**Sīhaḍēn**=ōtkīrṇṇaṁ ||

1. Read *pravarasya*.

2. There is a floral symbol after the double *daṇḍa*.

NO. 6 – AN INSCRIPTION OF PRATIHĀRA VATSARĀJA, ŚAKA 717

(*1 Plate*)

K.V. Ramesh and S.P. Tewari, Mysore

This important lithic record, edited here for the first time, is engraved on the well-dressed surface of a rectangular stone slab now preserved by the Archaeological Survey of India in the Purana Quila, New Delhi. As regards its provenance, the only information available to us is that it comes from the North Western Circle of the Survey which has its headquarters in Śrīnagar. The writing covers an area measuring 41x73 cm and runs into 24 lines. On the raised rim of the bottom of the slab are engraved two lines which are mostly illegible. This part seems to contain one verse in praise of the goddess Bhavānī and also gives the date of the inscription in figures.

The inscription is written in **Sanskrit language** and the entire text, but for a brief salutation to the Goddess Bhagavatī in line 1, is in verse, there being 26 verses in all, composed in as many as nine different metres. The **script** employed may be identified as late **Siddhamātrikā** or even as **proto-Nāgarī** widely in use in Northern India during the second half of the 8th century. The writing, carefully and neatly executed, is well preserved but for eight letters in line 14, which appear to have been deliberately tampered with, and eleven more letters in line 23 which, though not damaged, are illegible. The literary style and diction of poetic composition conform to the conventional classical *praśastis* as normally composed under royal patronage and bear testimony to the scholarship and poetic accomplishment of the poet **Mādhava**.The **palaeographical** and **orthographical** features are regular for the period and region to which the record belongs. Attention may, however, be drawn to the fact that while the consonant immediately following the *rēpha* is almost uniformly doubled, in some cases *bhāryā* (line 13), the consonant *y* is not doubled in view of the fact that a single conjunct component has been employed to represent *ry*. Such a conjunct component form for *ry* makes its appearance for the first time during the Gupta period.[1]

The object of the inscription is to record the construction, by **Gallaka** ,of a temple for the goddess **Chaṇḍikā** the blue print for which, complete with a variety of trees, well and garden, was duly conceived by the architects on **the 10th day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 717** (expressed by chronogram).

As for the contents of the record, line 1 commences with an auspiceous spiral symbol, which is only partly preserved, followed by salutation to the goddess

1. See, eg., the Indore plate of Skandagupta, Gupta year 146, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 70-71 and plate.

(Bhagavatī) Durgā (i.e. Chaṇḍikā). Verse 1 (lines 1-2) invokes the blessings of the goddess Chaṇḍikā whose three manifestations as Yōgīśvarī, in which form she is close to Brahmā, as the sister of Vishṇu and as the better half of the god Śiva are alluded to. Verse 2 (lines 2-3) contains a prayer that the arms of Chaṇḍikā, which had brought pleasure to the *dēvas* by liquidating the fearsome demon Mahisha, may protect all. Verse 3 (lines 3-4) introduces the king *(rājā)* **Nāgabhaṭa (I)** as one who had scored victory over the invincible Gurjaras and who, like Vishṇu-Purushōttama, in his Varāha incarnation, had retrieved the earth from calamity by vanquishing his foes. According to verse 4 (lines 4-5) there was born in his family *(anvaya)* the king *(bhūpati)* **Vatsarāja** who was of unequalled valour and who enjoyed implicit obedience; he expanded his kingdom by defeating enemy kings and cared for those whom he loved. Verse 5 (lines 5-7) alludes to his victories over the Karṇāṭa and Lāṭa rulers, which took his armies right down to the southern ocean and to his victory over Jayāpīḍa which took his armies right upto the icy Himalayan heights. Verse 6 (lines 7-8) states that Vatsarāja took away from the Lord of Gauḍa, who was the master of the four seas, the goddess of royalty while, according to verse 7 (lines 8-9), by virtue of his victories over the Gauḍa king and the emperor of Dakshiṇāpatha as also by virtue of his victories over the Mlēchchha and Kīra kings, respectively of the western and northern quarters, he attained the status of an emperor *(sārva-bhauma-nṛipatitva)*.

Verses 8-11 (lines 9-12) are devoted to the eulogy of Vatsarāja's subordinate **Śrīvarmaka**. Verse 8 (line 9) states that Śrīvarmaka, the son of Grahiyaka of the royal family *(nṛip-ānvaya)* which had sprung from Kāchara, was the most beloved servant of Vatsarāja unto whom he was like a son. Verse 9 (lines 10-11) states that Śrīvarmaka defeated the Tājika ruler in battle and took him captive; and, after ridding his other enemy Kēsarī of his arrogance and forcing him to pay tribute, he released him; he punished the (rulers of the) hill tribes *(parvvatīyāḥ)* and vanquished Vyāghra, the powerful Tōmara king. Verse 10 (lines 11-12) states that Śrīvarmaka, at whose feet lay the prostrate figures of enemy kings vanquished by him, was tormented by the itch for (more) battles. According to verse 11 (line 12) Śrīvarmaka was comparable to the ocean in depth and character, in his eagerness to surge forward and in his zeal to bear the burden of the earth. From verse 12 (lines 12-14) we learn that Śrīvarmaka had a wife named **Dēvaśrī** who was constant in her fidelity like Lakshmī to Vishṇu, Rōhiṇī to the Moon-god, Pārvatī to Śiva, Paulōmī to Indra, and Sītā to Rāma, who was praised by the people even as Gaṅgā and who was verily like Arundhatī.

From her was born to Śrīvarmaka (verse 13, lines 14-15) a son named **Gallaka**, an ornament of the earth, who had vanquished all his enemies, who was the very incarnation of Dharma, and who was like the wish-fulfilling tree in the matter of ridding those whom he loved of their tribulations. From verse 14 we also learn that Gallaka was known by the other name of **Sadbhāvaśīla**. Verses 15 (lines 16-17) and 16 (lines 17-18) are in the nature of conventional eulogy, the first one describing his

good qualities as having provided all the quarters and the second one praising him for setting at nought the evil effects of the Kali age. Verses 17 (line 18) and 18 (lines 18-19) describe the victories registered by him against the forces of the king of Gauḍa and the Vallabha (i.e. the emperor of Karṇāṭaka). Verse 19 (lines 19-20) states that Gallaka installed **Indrabhaṭa** as master of his (i.e. Indrabhaṭa's) own kingdom.

We learn from verse 20 (line 20) that the king Gallaka, wishing for his entry into heaven, caused a temple to be constructed for the goddess Chaṇḍikā. The next verse (verse 21, lines 20-21) states that on the tenth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 717, expressed in chronogram as *muni* (7), *śaśi* (1) *naga* (7) the plan or blue-print *(mūla-pāda)* of the Chaṇḍī shrine, along with a variety of fruit-yielding trees, well and garden was conceived by the architects.

Verse 22 (lines 21-22) informs us that Mādhava, who belonged to a family of poets hailing from the western country, was the son of Harigupta and was, from his very birth, a devoted servant of the king (Gallaka), composed this eulogy. According to verse 23 (lines 22-23), **Dēddaka**, the son of Dattaka and a notary of the merchants' guild was appointed as the artisan *(kāruka)* of the temple, probably by Gallaka. From verse 24 (line 23), which is not happily composed, we gather that **Durgāditya** was the architect *(sūtradhāra)*, that the learned **Śarvanandī** prepared the beautiful image (obviously of the goddess Chaṇḍikā) and that **Ṇāṇṇa** was the stone-cutter *(aśma-kuṭṭaka)*. The last quarter of this verse is illegibly engraved and we are unable to give its reading inspite of our best efforts. Verse 25 (lines 23-24) is in the form of an invocation bestowing permanence on the temple *(kīrtti)* while the last verse (verse 26, lines 24-25) states that the *praśasti* was engraved on the orders of the king (Gallaka) by the goldsmith **Varāhavarma**, the son of Kāna.

The manifold importance of this inscription for the political history of India during the period of transition from the 8th to 9th century cannot be overstated. Its primary importance lies in the facts that it is the earliest hitherto known inscription of the Imperial Pratihāra family and that it is the one and only hitherto known inscription of the reign of Vatsarāja. Of equal importance is the fact that it provides for Vatsarāja the latest as yet known date for his reign, viz. 795 A.D. Only two other dates are known for his reign and both of them are from literary sources. According to the colophon of the *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyōtana-sūri, that work was composed in the Śaka year 700 (=779 A.D.) at Jāvālipura during the reign of Raṇahastin Vatsarāja.[1] Again, according to Jinasēna, the author of *Harivaṁśa-purāṇa*, Vatsarāja was ruling over the western region *(aparā dik)* at the time of the completion of that work in Śaka 705 (=783 A.D.).[2] Though we know from other sources[3] that Vatsarāja was the son of Dēvarāja and Bhūyikā and grand-nephew of Nāgabhaṭa I, the present inscription omits,

1. *Kuvalayamālā* (Sindhī Jain Granthamālā, No. 45, Bombay, 1959), Vol. I, p. 283, line 1.
2. *Harivaṁśa-purāṇa*, Manikchandra Digambar - Jaina Granthamālā, No. 33, (Bombay), Vol. II, p. 806, verse 52.
3. Bhandarkar's List, No. 25.



the names of his parents and merely states that he was born in the family of Nāgabhaṭa (I).

Nothing tangible was hitherto known about Vatsarāja except that he was one of the most powerful Indian rulers of his times. The record under study provides us with new information of a substantial nature on many important military exploits of Vatsarāja and his subordinates. The victories credited to Vatsarāja in our inscription are against the rulers of Karṇāta and Lāṭa, against Jayāpīḍa, against the Lord of Gauḍa and against the Mlēchchha and Kīra rulers. Of these, the ruler of Karṇāṭa was obviously Vatsarāja's Rāshṭrakūṭa contemporary Dhruva (780-93 A.D.) while the Lord of Gauḍa was the Pāla ruler Dharmapāla. These three were the most powerful Indian rulers of their days and were involved in a triangular contest for supremacy. While we have had epigraphical claims registered for Dhruva's triumph over Pratihāra Vatsarāja and for the latter's triumph over the Gauḍa ruler (i.e. Dharmapāla) as also for Dhruva's victory over the last named ruler, the present inscription reveals for the first time Vatsarāja's claim of victory over the ruler of Karṇāṭa by whom, obviously, Dhruva is meant. These claims and counterclaims of victory are, more or less, a conventional part of epigraphical poetry and may indicate either the uncertain nature of the outcome of the battles, giving scope for such contradictory claims, or may pertain to different battles in which the results were successively reversed and for which we do not have tangible evidence.

The mention of the rulers of Karṇāṭa and Lāṭa together (as *Karṇāṭa-Lāṭaiḥ,* verse 5) is further illustrative of the already known fact that like the Chalukyas of Vātāpi, their successors, the Rāshṭrakūṭas also had established close contacts with and hegemony over the Lāṭa territory.

One historically important point occurring in our record is Vatsarāja's victory over Jayāpīḍa and his further triumphal progress to the icy heights of the Himālayas. Jayāpīḍa, who suffered defeat at the hands of Vatsarāja, may be safely identified with his namesake of the Kārkōṭa family of Kashmīr. According to Kalhaṇa, who is our only source of information on Jayāpīḍa, he was a powerful ruler who, at the very commencement of his reign, conducted a victorious campaign against the Gauḍa country.

The claim of Vatsarāja to have defeated the Lord of Gauḍa seems to be based on facts for even the former's Rāshṭrakūṭa adversaries admit that he had defeated the Gauḍa king. The description of the Gauḍa ruler who, in this instance, was in all probability, Dharmapāla, as the Lord of the four seas *(chatur-udadhipati,* line 8) shows that even his enemies considered him to be a powerful monarch.

We are next told that Vatsarāja also defeated the Mlēchchhas of the west and the Kīras of the north. Of these, the Mlēchchhas were no doubt the early Arab Muslim invaders who had carved out settlements for themselves in the Sindh-Multan region. We know that a number of Hindu rulers, including Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa I and his successors, Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśin of the Chalukya house of Navasārika and Anantadēva of the Hund region in Attock, had successfully fought against these early

Muslim invaders in the 8th century A.D.[1] While the fragmentary Hund inscription[2] of Anantadēva, actually refers to these Muslim intruders as Turushkas, other records merely mention them either as *Yavanas* or *Mlēchchhas.* The inscription under study reveals for the first time that Vatsarāja had his own contribution to make in stemming the tide of early Muslim invasions in the west. Vatsarāja's wars against Jayāpīḍa and the Mlēchchhas seem to have formed part of a single campaign for we know from Arab sources that the Multan region had been taken away by the Turushkas from the possessions of the Kārkōṭa rulers of Kashmīr in the middle of the 8th century.

The Kīras of the north, whom also Vatsarāja claims to have defeated, may be safely identified as the rulers of Kīra-grāma and the region around it in the Kangra valley. Kīra-grāma finds mention in the Bāijnāth *praśasti*[3] of 804 A.D. as the headquarters of a family of Rājānaka chieftains. The Khalimpur plate[4] of Dharmapala includes the Kīra among the rulers who registered their approval of the Gauḍa king's act of installing Chakrāyudha in place of Indrarāja as the ruler of Kānyakubja, much to the chagrin of his vanquished Pratihāra adversary. The great eminence attained by Vatsarāja as a result of his victories over the rulers in all the four directions, over the Karṇāṭa emperor of the south (*Dakshiṇāpatha*), over the Gauḍa king in the east, over the Lāṭa and Mlēchchha rulers in the west and over the ruler of Kashmīr as also the chieftains of the hills in the north, is fully brought home in verse 7 which declares that, as a result of these martial triumphs, Vatsarāja rose to the status of an emperor (*sārva-bhauma-nṛipati*).

As has been pointed out above, from verse 8 onwards, the description of events runs around the personality of Vatsarāja's son-like feudatory Śrīvarmaka, the son of Grahiyaka of the family of the king Kāchara. This is the lone epigraphical reference to this feudatory family and we are unable to say wherefrom they hailed. Śrīvarmaka is stated in our record to have defeated and imprisoned the Tājika ruler and to have released, after extracting tribute, another adversary who is merely mentioned as Kēsarī. While we know next to nothing about Kēsarī, the Tājika ruler may be identified with Vatsarāja's Mlēchchha or Turushka enemy of the Sindh-Multan region. He is next stated to have defeated the ***Parvatīyas***, an expression by which are perhaps meant the minor rulers of the hilly regions of the Himālayas. In all these campaigns, Śrīvarmaka appears to have actively assisted his overlord Vatsarāja.

An important information furnished by our record for the career of Śrīvarmaka is his victory over Vyāghra, a Tōmara chieftain. The Tōmaras were known to have been

1. See, Above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 96.
2. Above, *Ibid.*, pp. 94-98 and plate.
3. *Ibid.* Vol. I. pp. 97 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 248, Text, verse 12.

ruling in and around modern Delhi from at least the middle of the 8th century[1] though the earliest hitherto known epirgraphical reference to them occurs only in the Pehoa inscription[2] of Pratihāra Mahēndrapāla written either towards the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century A.D. Our inscription thus contains the earliest epigraphical reference to the Tōmaras and also reveals for the first time the name of the Tōmara contemporary of Vatsarāja as Vyāghra. Śrīvarmaka's triumph over Vyāghra seems to have resulted in the reduction of the status of the Tōmaras as feudatories of the Pratihāras for the next few generations.

Again, from verse 13 the description shifts to Gallaka, Śrīvarmaka's son born out of his wife Dēvaśrī. Since verse 14 states that Gallaka was ruling over a kingdom which he had properly inherited, we may safely conclude that his father Śrīvarmaka had predeceased his master Vatsarāja and was not alive at the time our inscription was engraved. Like his father, Gallaka also was actively associated with Vatsarāja's campaigns against the Gauḍa forces (verse 17) and the Karṇāṭa ruler (indirectly alluded to in the expression *Vallabh-āśru-dhārāḥ* in line 19, Vallabha being a common appellation for Karṇāṭaka emperors particularly during the Vātāpi Chalukya and Rāshṭrakūṭa periods). Gallaka was also involved in Vatsarāja's wars for gaining supremacy over the Kanauj region and seems to have played a crucial role in successfully enthroning Indra-bhaṭa (same as Indrarāja, the rival of Chakrāyudha) at Kānyakubja. An important implication is that Indrarāja was safely perched on his throne even as late as the date of the present inscription.

Gallaka, prompted by his keen desire to attain salvation, caused a temple to be constructed for the goddess Chaṇḍī. Since we do not know the exact provenance of the record, we are unable to locate or identify the temple site. Verse 21 is important since it says that on the tenth day of the bright half of the last month of the Vasanta *ṛitu,* i.e. Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 717, the architects appointed for the purpose duly completed the preparation of the plan or blueprint for the temple complete with such accessories as a grove of different varieties of fruit-bearing trees, a well and a garden. The date is important because it is not the date of the completion of the temple, though on the date of the writing of the inscription, the construction of the temple had been completed. This means that the details of date as furnished by our record pertain to the dav of foundation implying thereby that some unspecified length of time had passed before the construction work was completed and the inscription got engraved. We may, therefore, conclude that, allowing a few years for the actual work of construction, which commenced in 795 A.D., the inscription may have been engraved and set up towards the very end of the eighth century A.D.

1. "According to the bardic tradition 'Anangpal Tuar' founded Delhi in V.S. 792 (A.D. 736) and established the Tomara dynasty" – *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1145.

2. Above, Vol. I, pp. 242-50 and plate.

The contents of verses 22-26 have already been summarised above. Mādhava, the composer of the *praśasti,* claims to have belonged to a family of poets hailing from the Western country *(pāśchātya-dēśa,* line 21). It is likely that he was an inhabitant of the Sindh-Multān region and that he joined the band-wagon of Vatsarāja and Śrīvarmaka and Gallaka when they successfully overran the Turushka kingdom. It is interesting to note that Dēddaka was appointed as the artisan of the Chaṇḍikā temple, obviously in order to keep the new structure from falling into disrepair.

The geographical names occurring in the inscription, viz. Karnāṭa,, Lāṭa, Gauḍa and Pāśchātya-dēśa are either too well known or have been commented upon above.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verses 1, 4, 8, 10, 15-17, 22, 25 *Vasantatilakā*; Verses 2, 5-6, 9, 13 *Sragdharā*; Verses 3, 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verse 7 *Mātrāsamaka*; Verses 11, 19, 23, 26 *Anushṭubh*; Verse 14 *Upēndravajrā*; Verse 12, *Aryā*; Verse 20 *Rathōddhatā*; Verse 21 *Mālinī*; Verse 24 *Śālinī*]

1. Siddham[|*][2] Ōṁ namō Bhagavatyai Durggāyai || Yōgīśvarī-vadana-sannihit=āpi Dhātur=Vvishṇōḥ svasā vividha-Bhūtapatēs-tath=ārddhaṁ | itthaṁ sthitāṁ vividha-mūrttishu Chaṇḍi-

2 kāyāḥ mūrttiḥ karōtu bhavatām=atulāṁ vibhūtim || [1*] Prōddāma-śyāma-dhāmnō virachita-mahisha-chchhadmanā dānavasya vyāsaktō mūrdhni mūrchchhā-vaśam=iva gatavān=nihpatat=tāṭakasya [|] pāyād=vaḥ

3 paṅka-pūrād=aravikara-bhay=āmbhōruhāhāra-dhārī Yādōr=vāla-pravāla-dyutir= Aditi-sut=ā[na]nda-kṛich=Chaṇḍikāyāḥ || [2*] Āsīd=durjjaya-Gurjjar-ārjjita-jayō rājā jagaty=ūrjjitaḥ śrīmān=Nāgabhaṭō

4 raṇ=ōtkaṭa-bhaṭaḥ ṭaṅkāriṇām=agraṇīḥ | sākshād=yaḥ Purushōttamaḥ kshitipatir-mmagnā vipad-vāridhau hatvā vairi-gaṇān=varāha-vapushā yēn=ōddhṛitā mēdinī || [3*] Tasy=ānvayē samabha-

5 vad=bhuvanaika-vīraḥ śrī-Vatsarāja iti bhūpatir=akshat=ājñaḥ | yō dṛipta-vairi-vadha-bhūri-vivṛiddha-rājyaś=chintāmaṇiḥ praṇayināṁ jagatīṁ vyajēshṭha || [4*] Pītv=āmbhau dakshiṇ=ābdhēr=virasam=avajit=āśē-

1. Transcribed from the ink-impression.

2. Expressed by a partially preserved spiral symbol.

6. sha-Kā(Ka)rṇṇāṭa-Lāṭair=bhāntvā dikshu-kshatārēr=jjaya-janita-Jayāpīḍa-pīḍasya yasya | sēvā nirvvēdayadbhiḥ sphuṭad=adhara-puṭaiḥ sainikaiḥ sanna-kaṇṭhaiḥ śītaṁ pītaṁ kathañchit tuhina-giri-gatair-haimatāṁ

7 haimam-ambhaḥ ||[5*] Durvvār=ārāti garvv=ōddharaṇa-raṇa-raṇat-kōṭi -kōdaṇḍa-daṇḍa-jyāghāta-krūra-dōshṇōr-vikaṭa-kari-ghaṭā-saṅkaṭ=āntar- nivishṭā | hatv= ājau yōdha-vṛindān=aparimita-balēn=ārjjitā rā-

8 ja-lakshmīḥ saṁgrāma-grāma-rāmā chatur-udadhi patēr-yēna Gauḍa-ādhipasya || [6*] Gauḍa-nātham=avajitya balād-yō Dakshiṇāpatha-patiṁ cha nṛipēśaṁ | Mlēchchha-Kīram=aparōttaran-diśam sārvvabhauma pa[1] - nṛi-

9. patitvam-avāpa || [7*] Tasy=ātmajēna sadṛiśaḥ prakaṭa-prabhāvaḥ Śrīvarmmakō= bhavad-abhīshṭatamaḥ subhṛityaḥ | śrī-Kāchar-ōdbhava-nṛip-ānvaya-jāta-janmā lakshmīvatō Grahiyakasya sutō narēndraḥ || [8*]

10. Jitv-ājau yēna baddhaṁ-kṛita-sakala-jagaj=jāgaras-Tājikēśō jātyē bhagn-ōru darppas-samupahṛita-karaḥ Kēsarī yēna muktaḥ | daṇḍaṁ yēna prachaṇḍaṁ bhaya-vidhura-dhiyō dāpitāḥ Parvvatīyāḥ śrī-

11. mad-Vyāghrō=pi yēna prakaṭa-bhuja-balō nirjjitas-Tōmar-ēndraḥ || [9*] Prājyā (jya)- pratāpa-dahan=ādhika-pachyamāna-vidvēshi-vaṁśa-nata-pāda-yugasya yasya labdh-ōnnatir-yadiparāṁ hṛita-mānasasya

12. vyachchhō babhūva sumahat-samar=ābhilāshaḥ || [10*] Gambhīraḥ satva-sampan-naḥ sthity=ati' krānti kātaraḥ | Dharaṇī-dharaṇ-ōdyuktaḥ samudra iva yō=paraḥ || [11*] Vishṇōḥ Śrīr=iva Rōhiṇ=īva Śaśinō

13. Gaur=īva Daksha-dvishaḥ Paulōm=īva Marutpatē Raghupatēḥ Sīt=ēva bhartṛi-vratā | bhāryā tasya babhūva dharmma-niratā Gaṅg=ēva lōkaiḥ śrutā [|] Dēvaśrīr= iti viśrutā kshiti talē sākshād=iv-Ārundha-

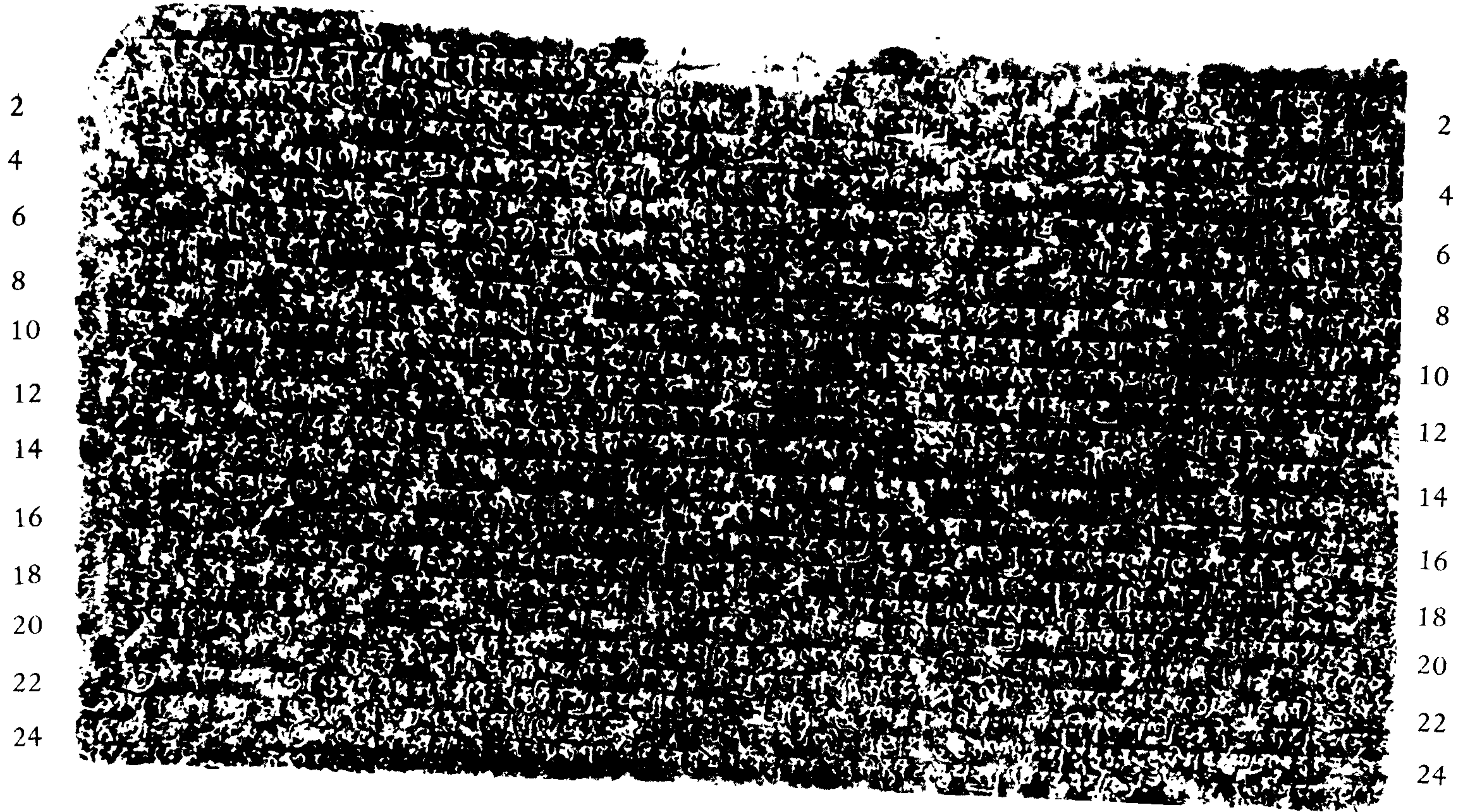
14 tī || [12*] Tasyām tēn=ōdapādi kshiti-tala-tilakō nirjjit-ārāti pakshaḥ sākshād-Dharmm-āvatāraḥ parigata-kapaṭ-ōpārjjitaḥ bhūtadhātryā | Śrī— — — ∪ — — ∪∪ sadṛiśa-tanur-llōchanaiḥ pīyamā-

15 naḥ putraḥ śrī-Gallak-ākhyaḥ praṇayi-jana-manō-nirvṛitau Kalpa-vṛikshaḥ || [13*] Dvipaty-upakshīṇa-viśishṭa-varggē dātā dayāvān-apaṇōtu chittaṁ(ttam) [|] kram-āgataṁ rājyam-apālayad-yaḥ Sadbhā-

---

1. The letter *pa* is redundant.

AN INSCRIPTION OF PRATIHĀRA VATSARĀJA, ŚAKA 717



K. V. Ramesh

SCALE : ONE-FOURTH

16 vaśīl-āpara-nāmadhēyaḥ || [14*] Asmākam-ēsha kṛipay=āpi samēta-lajjam yā=sīt purā cha gaṇanā bhuvi sā=py=apētā | ittham vichintya tarasā vimalair-ggun-aughair-nnirvvēdavadbhir =iva yasya

17 diśō gṛihītāḥ || [15*] Bhaṅktvā Kaliṁ sakala-lōka-kṛit-ōpatāpaṁ yō=yaṁ pravard-dhita-khal-ōnnatimaty-udāram | Saṁprāpta-bhīta-śaraṇāgata-vatsalēna dharmm-ātmanaḥ nanu kṛitī kṛitam=ē-

18 va yēna || [16*] Āsīd-dvishad-viśasana-kshata-tīkshṇa-dhārō bhāsvat-kar-ō[j*]-jvala-ruchir=yudhi Gauḍa-vīraḥ | dṛishṭvā vimukta-kariṇaḥ prapalāyamānān-mukt-āṭṭahāsa iva yasya kṛipāṇa-paṭṭāḥ || [17*] Mūrtty-ā-

19 ti-māna-dhanaḥ samara-mukh-ōru-sita Vallabh-āśru-dhārāḥ | yasya ripavō gajā iva nashṭāḥ paramārttha-kēsariṇaḥ || [18*] Yaś=chakāra nija-rājyē sarvva-vyāpinam-ādarāt [|] guṇinaṁ kārya tattvajñaṁ śrī-

20. mad-Indrabhaṭaṁ bhaṭaṁ || [19] Ishṭatō=dhikaḥ phalaṁ kil=āpūrttaṁ śāstrataḥ samāvasya sa bhūpaḥ [|] Svar-ggatiṁ bahuphalām-abhivāṁchhan Chaṇḍikālayam=achīkarad=ētaṁ(tam) || [20*] **Muni-śaśi-naga-saṁsthē** yānti

21 **kālē Śakānāṁ surabhi-charama māsē śukla-pakshē daśamyāṁ(yām)** | bahu-taru-phala-kūp=ārāma-Chaṇḍī-gṛihāṇām sthapatibhir=iha yatnāt=kalpitō mūlapādaḥ || [21*] Pāśchātya-dēśaja-kav-īndra-kula-pra-

22 sūtō bhaktyā jan=ōpi parayā **Harigupta**-putraḥ | ājanmataḥ prabhṛiti tasya nṛipasya bhṛityaś-chakrē praśastim=iha **Mādhava**-nāmadhēyaḥ || [22*] Vaṇik-sa mi(vi)paṇau gaṇyō **Dēddakō Dattak**=ātmajaḥ || (1) Kārukō-

23. tra kṛitas=tēna Chaṇḍik=āyatanē śubhēḥ(bhē)||[23*] **Durggāditya**[s*] sūtradhāraḥ suśilpaṁ yatnāch=chakrē **Śarvvanandī** cha vidvān [|*] Chaṇḍī-vēśmany-aśma kuṭṭakō **Nānnaḥ** ––––––∪––∪–– [24*] yāvad=dharā-nada-nadī-

24 śata-puṇya-dēśā yāvach=cha Mandara-Himālaya-Mēru-Vindhyāḥ [|] tishṭhanti khē cha bhagaṇā divi dēva-vṛindās=tāvat-sthirā bhavatu kīrttir=iyaṁ nṛipasya || [25*] **Varāhavarmmaṇā** ch= aishā **samutkīrṇṇā** nṛip-ājñayā | pra-

25. śastiḥ suvarṇṇākārēṇa[1] **Kāṇa**-putrēṇa dhīmatā || [26*]

1. Read *svarṇṇa* for the sake of metre.

NO. 7 – NATIONAL MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF KĒLACHCHADĒVĪ, V.S. 1239

(*1 Plate*)

S.P. Tewari, Mysore

The inscription, edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, is engraved on the front side of the pedestal of a marble stone bearing in deep relief the images of a seated male and female; it was copied by me in October 1979[1] from the ground floor collections of the National Museum (Museum No. L. 200), New Delhi. This record of queen Kēlachchadēvī was first brought to the notice of scholars by late Prof. Dashrath Sharma who presented a paper based on the contents of this record before the Allahabad Session of the Indian History Congress in 1965. From the Proceedings of the Congress which were published in 1967 from Aligarh (pp. 50-51) it appears likely that, along with his paper, Prof. Sharma had also presented the text of the record which was omitted later on when the proceedings were sent to the press. Since Prof. Sharma in his paper had mainly focussed attention on the instance of a queen being successfully dissuaded from committing *satī*, certain peculiarities and shortcomings noticeable in the inscription were not discussed by him. As a result, his paper is silent in regard to palaeographical, orthographical, linguistic and scribal features. This, coupled with the fact that the said Proceedings do not contain the text of the inscription, has prompted me to edit this interesting record in the pages of this journal.

The marble slab described above was acquired by the Museum from Gaḍh, District Alwar of Rajasthan.[2] On this pedestal there are four lines of writing in which the fourth line has only one word which was also possibly added later on. So also the details of date, viz., Saṁvat 1239, written before the ornamental auspicious symbol for *siddhaṁ* in line 1 and *Māgha sudi* 1 written before the commencement of line 2, were possible engraved afterwards when the engraver realised that he had omitted these details at the time of engraving the record. He merely utilised the marginal space available on the left side of the first two lines, and then, since the word *budhē* could not be accommodated he engraved it below the third line. That the omission was noticed even while the text was being engraved is clearly borne out by the fact that the engraver commences the third line, so as to be in alignment with the commencement of the details of date thus making all the three lines begin at the same vertical point. The writing covers an area of about 45 cms in length and, minus the only word engraved in the fourth line, about 5 cms in height. The space left between lines 2 and 3 is less than the space left between lines 1 and 2. Barring the date portion on the left margin, the size of the letters on each of the three lines progressively diminishes. The only word

1. This inscription is being noticed in Appendix B of *A.R.Ep.*, 1979-80.
2. This information is based on Prof. Sharma's statement in the Proceedings referred to above. He also rightly surmises that the images probably represent the king Pṛithvīdēva and his queen Kēlachchadēvī figuring in the record.

budhē in line 4 has letters which are the smallest of all and also carelessly engraved. No portion of the engraved surface has suffered damage and the writing is in a good state of preservation.

The **characters** of the record are **Nāgarī** of a type which was widely in use in the area of Rajasthan during the period to which the insciption belongs.

The **language** is **Sanskrit** throughout and except the date portion which is scattered in lines 1, 2 and 4 the rest of the record is in verse.

In respect of **orthography** the following points may be noted: *bh* is engraved for *ś* in *yabhō* for *yaśō* (line 1); and *s* for *ś* in *visuddha* for *viśuddha* in line 3; subscript *v* in *svargaṁ* and *svā* (in line 1) and *sva* (line 2) is carelessly engraved and looks like *tha;* superscript *r* is not used in *bhatrā* (for *bhartrā)* and *nimmāpyēdaṁ* for *nirmmāpyēdaṁ* (line 2); in *svargāya yatasya* (line 3) the long *ā* vowel mark is wanting. Though the letter *ya* when engraved as a separate letter is very distinct from *pa,* yet in its subscript form this distinction is not maintained as in *nimmāpya* (line 2) and *tasya, nṛipasya* and *syandini* (line 3). Though the word *pṛithvī* (line 3) is read so because of the context, it is wrongly spelt as *pṛitdyī.* Doubling of consonants like *m* in *nirmmāpya* (line 2) and *nirmmala* (line 3) and *v* in *yaśasōr-vvṛiddhyai* (line 3) is carefully observed. In the same way the rules of *saṁdhi* have been regularly followed.

The epigraph tells us that the queen Kēlachchadēvī, who was the unsullied source of the abundant prosperity of the kingdom and the abode of righteous deeds and renown decided to put an end to her life by committing *satī* at the death of her husband, king Pṛithvīdēva, thinking of her body as of no greater importance than a piece of straw; she was, however, persuaded and successfully prevented from doing so by her son, the ministers and the learned people of her kingdom. She ultimately abided by their advice and, as a consolation to herself and also for the merit and renown of her departed husband, got a temple of Anaṅgasūdana (Śiva) built on Wednesday, which was the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha of the year 1239 of the Vikrama era.

A curious point which had somehow escaped the attention of Prof. Sharma is the fact that the queen, who was feeling sad because of the departure of her husband *(tad=vichchhēda kad=arthitēna manasā,* etc., line 3), (also) got this image of the king *(mūrttiṁ tadīyōm=imāṁ,* line 3) made. This clearly shows that the male image above this pedestal is certainly that of the king Pṛithvīdēva. The expression *dēvāmṛita-syandinīm* (line 3), which qualifies *mūrttiṁ* is also interesting as it indicates that the image of the king was like a vehicle *(syandinī)* for him to reach the heavens and attain immortality though literally it means only an image from which the divine nectar *(dēvāmṛita)* was oozing out.[1]

---

1. The word *syandini,* has a double entendre here, as in its form of *syandin* or *syandinī* it means oozing, flowing and trickling, etc. (from the infinitive *syand)* and as a noun *syandana,* meaning a chariot or a vehicle (formed out of the same infinitive *syand*); it also gives the meaning of a mini-chariot or a *rathikā.*

The importance of the record lies in the fact that, whereas we have so many *satī* stone inscriptions which record the commission of *satī* by women reduced to widowhood, it is probably for the first time that we come across an epigraphical evidence to the effect that a queen who was determined to follow her husband on the funeral pier was successfully dissuaded from acting upon her decision. It becomes even more important when we consider the enormity of the *satī* records from the area of Rasjasthan.

Another significant feature of the record is the making of the memorial image of the king Prithvīdēva after his death. It is, however, not clear as to whether the date of the record pertains to the death of the king or to the construction of the temple or to the making of the image of the king.

As regards the identity of the king Prithvīdēva, known through this inscription for the first time, nothing definite can be stated at the present state of our knowledge. Prof. Sharma has two suppositions. One, that he might have been a Badgūjar and the other, that he was a descendant of Sāvaṭa and Mathanadēva, known to us respectively from the Nīlakaṇṭha and Rājōr inscriptions[1] —because both these records hail from the area of Alwar like our present record.

TEXT[2]

1. Saṁvatu 1239 [|*] Siddham[3] || Rājyaprājya-vibhūti-mūlam=amala-śrēyō yabhō(śō)-bhājanaṁ. dēvy=ēsh=ēti vichiṁtya putra-sachivaiḥ svarggaṁ gatē svā

2. Māgha sudi 1[4] mini | yāyāṁtī sva-tanuṁ vihāya triṇavat=sārdhaṁ sva-bhatrā (rtrā) satī saṁruddhā vivu(bu)dhaiśva(ś=cha) satya-mahishī Kēlachchadēvī tadā || [1*][5] Nimmā (Nirmmā)py-ēdam=Anaṁ-

3. gasūdana-grihaṁ svargāya ya(yā)tasya vai Prithvīdēva-nṛipasya puṇya-yaśasōr=vvriddhyai visu(śu)ddhātmanaḥ | tad=vichchhēda-kad-arthitēna manasā mūrttiṁ [ṁ*] tadīyām=imāṁ sā=smin kārayati sma vi(ni)rmmala-tarāṁ dēv-āmṛita-syandinī[m ||2 *][5]

4. Budhē

---

1. See *Bhandarkar's* list, No. 74 (Vikrama 1016); Above, Vol. III, p. 266 and the references therein.
2. From the impression.
3. Expressed by a symbol.
4. About *saṁvat* (line 1), this portion and *Budhē* (line 4), see the introductory remarks above.
5. The metre is *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

NATIONAL MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF KĒLACHCHADĒVĪ, V.S. 1239

2

2

K.V. Ramesh

SCALE · ONE-HALF

NO. 8 – DOORA PLATES OF UDAYAKHĒḌI

(*1 Plate*)

S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

and

Snigdha S. Tripathy, Bhubaneshwar

The copper plate charter edited below with the kind of permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was discovered in the village Doora near Berhampur in the district of Ganjam in Orissa in January 1973. The plates were later purchased by the Orissa State Museum where they are at present deposited.[1]

The set consists of three copper plates strung together on a copper ring, the ends of which are soldered to the back of a circular seal. The upper part of the seal has a countersunk surface on which are engraved in relief the figures of a crescent moon, an *aṅkuśa*, a couchant bull facing right and a half blown lotus on the left. The seal does not bear any legend. While the first plate is engraved on only one side, the second and the third plates bear writing on both the sides. Each plate measures 20.5 cm in length and 7.5 cm in breadth. The diameters of the ring and the seal are respectively 10 cm and 4.5 cm. The rims of the plates are slightly raised to protect the writing. Excepting lines 19 and 20 which are slightly blurred, the writing on the whole is in a good state of preservation.

The **characters** belong to the **Kaliṅga** alphabet of about the 9th-10th century A.D. and resemble generally those of the Kaṁbakāya[2] and Nirakarpur[3] plates of Dēvēndravarman. The **palaeography** of the Telugu-Kannaḍa portion (in lines 33-35) supports this dating. But the forms of the letters *t* and *r* are, however, different from those of corresponding letters seen in the two grants mentioned above. Of the two types of *t* employed in the present grant, one, which is typically East Indian, bears comparison to that in the two grants of Dēvēndravarman. But the other form of *t*, which is also simultaneously used in the charter under reference, is unique and not met with in the inscriptions of this period. In this, the right end of the cup-shaped form goes up to form a loop above. The form of *r* resembles that of the same letter found in the Nagari copper plate inscription of Anaṅgabhīma III.[4] While the Kaliṅga alphabet has been used almost in the whole of the inscription, the end of line 33 and the entire lines 34 and 35 in the first side of the third plate have been written in Telugu-Kannaḍa characters.

The **language** of the record is **Sanskrit** which, however, is corrupt and faulty. The carelessness of the scribe is seen in the omission of letters in words such as *sukha-ramaṇīyā* for *sukha-ramaṇīyād* in line 1, *śrīmā* for *śrīmān* in line 7, etc., and writing of

1. This has been noticed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1974-75 as No. A 15
2. *JBHS.*, Vol. IV(1931), pp. 29 ff. and plate.
3. *JBRS.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 1 ff. and plate
4. Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.

extra letters in words like *kāriṇāṁ=śchama* for *kāriṇāṁ=ścha* in line 10. Besides inscribing letters in a faulty manner, the same letter is often written in several varying forms. The letter *p* is written in the usual form as found in words like *paṇḍita* in line 3, *vipula* and *bhūpāla* in line 4, but it is written differently in words like *Amarapura* in line 1 and *pāshāṇa* in lines 27, 28 and 29. The letter *ch* is written in the usual manner in words like °*ārchchita* in line 5, but it is written differently in words like *chitta*° in line 5 wherein it resembles the letter *v*. As already mentioned *t* is again written in two forms. In words like *sarvata* in line 1, *paṇḍita* in line 3, the right curve of the cup shaped form goes up to form a loop above. However, in words like °*alaṁkṛita* in line 3, *sarita* in line 6, *tasya* in line 31, etc., *t* is written in the usual way as found in the other charters of this period. The letter *n* is sometimes difficult to be distinguished from *t* as in *vilāsinī* in line 2, *kuśalīna* in line 7, etc. The medial *ā* occurs in two forms, a small curved stroke above the right of the consonant as, for instance, in words like *grāmē* in line 8, *diśā* in line 28, etc. and a long vertical stroke which is more usually found as, for instance, in words like *mālā, vāra, vilāsinī*, in line 2, *Kōlāḍa* in line 8 etc. Medial *u* is also written in two ways namely a curve below a consonant as in words like *mukha, sura* in line 1, *śuka, putra* in line 17, etc., and a loop below the consonant as in words like *pura* in line 1, *pramukha* in line 9, etc. *Anusvāra* and *visarga* have been left out in a number of cases as, for example, in °*ānukāriṇa* in line 1, *bhūpatibhi* in line 25, *saptamyā* in lines 15-16, *pūrvaka* in line 21, etc. The *daṇḍas* have been used rarely as in lines 25, 33 and 36.

The inscription is not dated. The grant is stated to have been given on the occasion of **Āditya-vijaya-saptami**[1] or Ratha-saptami **in the dark half of the the month of Māgha in the Summer solstice (Uttarāyaṇa).**

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village Kōlāḍa situated in Mādhūpa-maṇḍala to the four brāhmaṇas, viz. 1. Āditya-bhaṭṭaputra, the son of Śuka, belonging to Sāṅkhya-gōtra, the *pravara* of three *ṛishis* and a student of Yajurvēda and Kāṇva-śākhā; 2. Nanēpa-bhaṭṭaputra, the son of Khaṇḍāmala, belonging to Kāśyapa-gōtra; 3. Nānayapa-śarmman, the son of Āditya-bhaṭṭa, belonging to Parāśara-gōtra; and 4. Āditya-śarmman, the son of Yōgēśvara, who was a scholar in the Vēdas, who belonged to the *pravara* of five *ṛishis* and to Vatsa-gōtra. The grant was issued by *Rāṇaka* **Udayakhēḍi**, belonging to the spotless family of **Gaṅga** rulers *(sura-sarit-kula)*, from the city called **Hōṇarēṅga-nagara**, on the occasion of vijaya-saptami already referred to above. Lines 25-32 describe the boundaries of the grant village Kōlāḍa. Lines 33-38 contain the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. Lines 39-40 mention the name of the engraver of the grant. The grant *(tāmra-paṭṭikā)* was engraved

---

1. In this expression Āditya stands for the week-day Sunday. "A *śukla-saptami* falling on Sunday is called Vijaya and is special for donations. " *Indian Ephemeries*, Vol. I, part I, p. 66. Our inscription, however, specifies the *paksha* as *kṛishṇa* which is obviously a mistake for *śukla*. It is also likely that in the expression *Māghē kṛishṇa*, an *avagraha* is to be understood and the expression read as *Māghē=kṛishṇa*.

by **Rēṅuka**, the son of the goldsmith *(akshaśālin)* Pākōsa.

Rāṇaka Udayakhēḍi, who issued the present grant, may be identified with his namesake who figures in the inscriptions of the Kadambas who owed allegiance to the imperial Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga. The Nirakarpur plates, referred to above, mention Udayakhēḍi, the son of Ugrakhēḍi and grandson of Dharmakhēḍi, who is described as the offspring of Mahāraṭṭajadēva, who emigrated from Rāyavanarāyi, who owed allegiance to Dēvēndravarman, the son of Bhūpēndravarman, and who belonged to the Kadamba family, as the donor of the grant. The Parlākimēḍi plates[1] refer to one Ugrakhēḍi who is described as the ornament of Kadamba dynasty and as born in the family of Nidusanti. This Ugrakhēḍi is stated to have been the governor of an area including a village called Hommaṇḍi or Hōmaṇḍi.[2] But in a later addition[3] engraved on the second side of the third plate of the same Parlākimēḍi pls., *Rāṇaka* Udayakhēḍi, the son and successor of Ugrakhēḍi figures as the donor of the village Vapavaḍā or Vapavāṭa. The Kaṁbakāya grant of Dēvēndravarman, already referred to, refers to his Kadamba feudatory *Mahāmaṇḍalīka* Udayāditya, the son of *Mahāmaṇḍalīka* Dharmakhēḍi.

On the basis of the identification of Vajrin in the Parlākimēḍi plates with Vajrahasta, the father of Bhūpēndravarman and grandfather of Anantavarman Vajrahasta and his brother Dēvēndravarman, and Ugrakhēḍi of the same grant with the Kadamba chief of the same name figuring in the Nirakarpur plates, it has been suggested that Udayakhēḍi, son of Ugrakhēḍi and grandson of Dharmakhēḍi, was a contemporary perhaps of Bhūpēndravarman, his son Anantavarman Vajrahasta (of the Kalahandi plates, Gaṅga year 383)[4] and the latter's brother Dēvēndravarman.[5]

It is possible to identify *Rāṇaka* Udayakhēḍi of the present copper plate charter with his namesake figuring in the Nirakarpur plates. While in the Nirakarpur plates, Udayakhēḍi is mentioned as belonging to Kadamba family, in the grant under review he is described as the *tilaka* on the forehead of the Gaṅga ruler who is, however, not named.

The grant village Kōlāḍa can be identified with the village of the same name situated at a distance of 12 kms north of Bhañjanagar police station in Ganjam District. Mādhūpa-maṇḍala, in which the grant village was situated, and Hōṇarēṅga-nagara whence the grant was issued cannot be identified. However, Hōṇarēṅga finds mention as the gift village in the Tambūru plates[6] of Umavarman of about the 6th century A.D.

1. Above, Vol. III, pp. 220 ff. and plate.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 319.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 222.
4. Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 317 ff.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 319.
6. Above, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 337 ff. and plate.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verses 1-3 *Anushṭubh]*

First Plate

1 Siddham[2] [||*] Svasty=Amarapur-ānukariṇa[ḥ*] sarvata(rtu)-sukha-ramaṇīyā [d*] =vijayavatava-

2 hala[3] -sudhā-dhavala-prāsāda-mālād=adhiri(shṭhi)ta-vāra--vilāsinī-lali-

3 ta-lāsyād=urddaṇḍa[4] -paṇi(ṇḍi)ta-bhu(ku)l-ālaṁkṛita-śrī-Hōnarēṅga-nagara-vāsakā-

4 t vipula-vikram=ōnnat-ānēka-bhūpāla-mauli-marīchi-rañjita-

5 pāda-padma-yugala[ḥ*] vimala-chitt-ārchchita-Chandramauli-charaṇa-kamala-

6 s=taraṇir=iv=āśēsha-diṁ-mukha-vyāpita [pratāpaḥ*] sura-sarita(t)-kul-āmala-sakala-

7 mahārāja-tilakaḥ śrīmān-Udayakhēḍi-rāṇaka[ḥ*] [ku]śalī [|*]na[ḥ] Mādhūpa-ma

8 ṇḍala-prativa(ba)ddha-Kōlāḍa-grāmē vā(brā)hmaṇa-purassaras=samasta-

Second Plate : First Side

9 sāmantaji[5]-pramukha-janapadān yathā-kāl-ādhyāyina[ḥ*] vishayapati(tī)n=adhi-

10 kāriṇāṁś=cha ma[6] karaṇān=anyā[na*]pi · chāṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-valabha[7] -jāti(tī)yān khaṇḍapāla-

11 daṇḍapāsi(śi)k-ādīn samasa(sta)-rāja-pād-ōpajīvināṁ sa(ya)th-ārhaṁ mānayati vi(bō)-

---

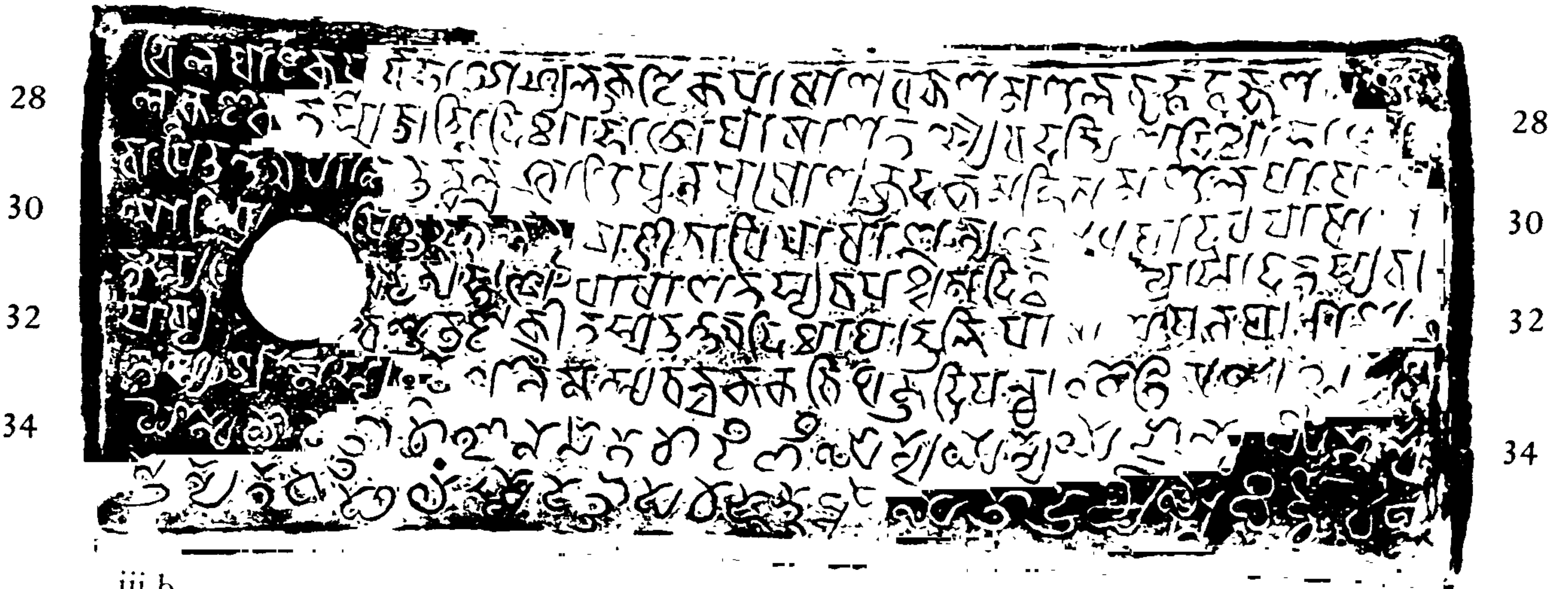
1. From impressions.
2. Expressed by a symbol.
3. Read =*vijaya-vadh-ūdvahana*..
4. Read= *uddaṇḍa.*
5. Better read *samant-ādi* °
6. The letter *ma* is superfluous.
7. Read *chāṭa-bhaṭa-vallabha*°

i

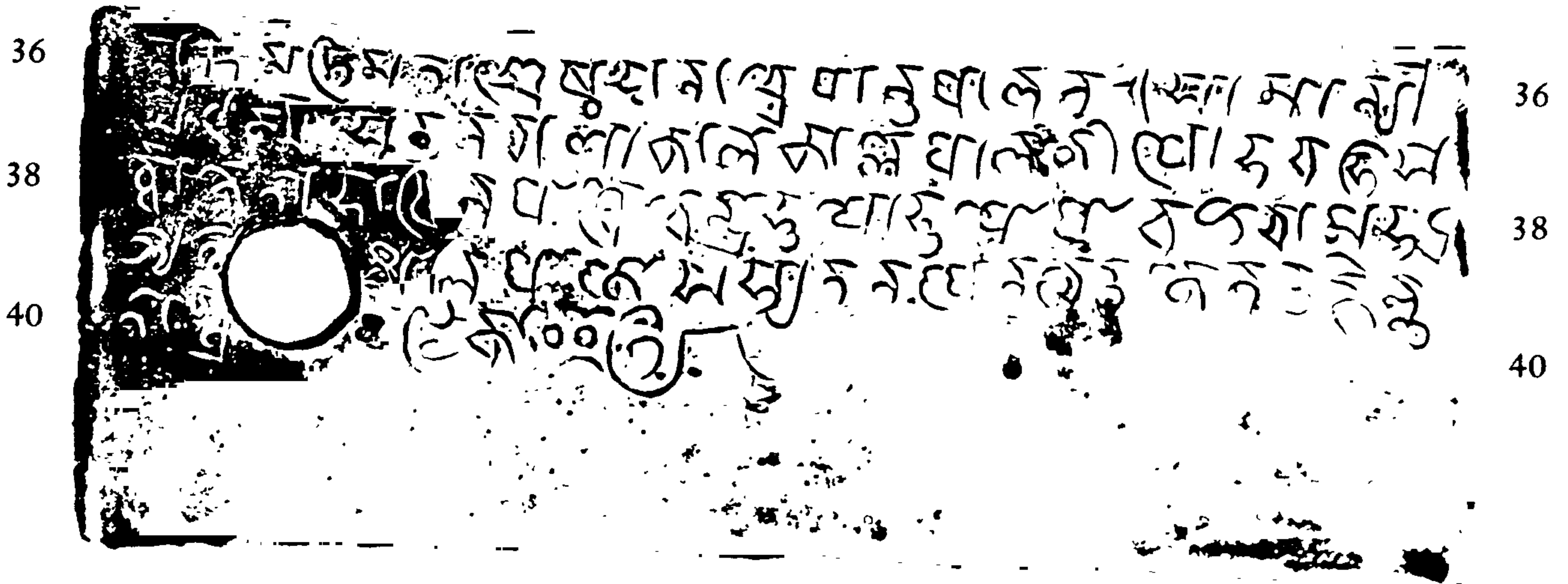
ii a

ii b

iii a



iii b



SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

SEAL



(From Photograph)

12 dhayati samājñāpayati viditam=astu bhavatāṁ Kōlāḍa-gāmōya[1] prasi-

13 ddha-chatu(tuḥ)-sīm-āvachchhinna-sa-jala-sathala-sarva-pīḍā-vā(bā)dha-vivarjita[ḥ*] achā-

14 ṭa-ta(bha)ṭa-pravēśyō chandr-ārkka-sthiti-samakālaḥ mātā-pitrōr=ātmana[ḥ] pu-

15 ṇya-yaśō=bhivṛiddhasē(y=ē)ha ma(mā)sē Māghē kṛishṇa-pakshē[2] Āditya-vijaya-sapta-

16 myā[ṁ] Uttarāyaṇē Sāṅkh[y]a-gōtra..............charaṇāya

17 Yaju[r*]-vēda-Kanva-śākha[3] 'Sukasya tanuj-āditya-bhaṭṭaputa[4] Kāśya-

Second Plate : Second Side

18 pa-gōtra-Khaṇḍamalasya sa(su)ta-Nanēpa-bhaṭṭaputra[5] Parāśara-gōtra-Ādi-

19 tya-bhaṭṭasya tanaya-Nanayapa-śarmma[ṇē*] Vachchha[6] -gōtra-pañchārsha-pravara -Yōgē-

20 śvarasya suta-vēda-vida(d)-bhaṭṭaputr-Āditya-śarmma[ṇē*] chaturbhi-janam= uparjita[7]-

21 m=udaka-pūrvaka[ṁ*] Kōlāḍam=agrahāram tāmvraśāsana(nī)kṛitya pradatt=ā

22 smābhi[ḥ*] [|*] Yatō=sya-vidhēyībhūy=ājñā-śravaṇakarai[ḥ*] kshētra-kara[ḥ*] samuchita-

23 bhōga-bhāga-kara-nikar-ādikaṁ samupanētavya[ṁ] [||*] yathā-kāl-ādibhiś=cha

24 bha(bhū)patibhir=dānam=idaṁ dharmma-manōmōbhya[8] dharmma-gauravāt=pati (ri)pālanīya-

1. Read °*grāmō-=yaṁ.*
2. See n. 1 above, p. 62.
3. Read °*Kaṇva-śākh-ādhyāyinē.*
4. Read *tanūjāya Āditya-bhaṭṭaputrāya.*
5. Read °*bhaṭṭaputrāya.*
6. Read *Vatsa*°
7. Read *chaturbhir=janair=upārjita* .
8. Read *dharmmam-anumōdya.*

25 m=iti[1] sīmā-liṅgāni likhyantē [||*] P[ū][2]rv-ādim=īśāna-paryantaṁ[3] Kōlāḍa-

26 grāmasya pūrvva-diśā-bhāga vṛihat datachila-pāṭaka[ḥ*] [dhū]na-kūṭa-

Third Plate : First Side

27 chila-pāṭaka[ḥ*] pūrva-bhāgē Khula-kuṭika-pāshāṇa[ḥ*] Varuṇa-maṇḍala Vṛihad=Varuṇa-maṇḍa-

28 la-kaṭaka[ḥ*] tasya Agni-diśā-bhāgē pāshāṇa[ḥ*] tasy=aiva dakshiṇa-diśā-bhāgē

29 vāpi(pī) uttara-[diśā-bhāgē*] Pāli Ujjvalū-khāṇḍi[ḥ*] puna[ḥ*] pāshāṇa-kuḍaka[ḥ*] Mahisha-maṇḍala-pāshāṇa-

30. mō . rūpi udaralaṁba-gatī vāpi(pī)-pāshāṇa[ḥ*] nyagrōdha-pādapa-pāshāṇa[ḥ*]

31 tasya nairitya-bhāgē pāshāṇa[ḥ*] tasya cha paśchima-diśāyām prāsāda[ḥ*] tasya vā-

32 yavya(vyē) Chaṇḍa-taṭākī tasya uttara-diśāyā[m*] huli-pāshāṇa[ḥ*] puna[ḥ*] pāshāṇa[ḥ*] ē-

33. tasya grāmasya i(ī)śāne(nē) matsya-chanpaka[4] -kari[dha]-nuḍi[5] panthā | iti [1] || Bahubhi-

34 r=basudhā dattā rājā(ja)na(bhih) Sagar-ādibhī(bhiḥ)[|*] yasya yasya yadā bhumis-tasya

35 sta(ta)sya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [|| 1*] Sva-dattā[ṁ*]=para-datta(ttā)m=vā yatād=raksha Yudhishthira [|*] ma-[6]

1. There are two punctuation marks after the letter *ti*, the first resembling the Nāgarī numerical figure 5 and the second resembling the numerical figure for zero, followed by two *daṇḍas*.

2. The *ū* sign is not clear and there are on both sides at the bottom of the letter one horizontal stroke.

3. Read *pūrvād=īśāna-paryantaṁ*.

4. Read *champaka*.

5. *kari-dhanush-ādi sahitā*.

6. From *Bahubhi* in line 33 to this letter, the text is engraved in Telugu-Kannada characters.

Third Plate : SecondSide

36 hi(hīṁ) mahimatā[ṁ*] śrēshṭha dānātśrē (ch-chhrē)yā(yō)=nupālanaṁ [2*||] Sāmānyā(yō)=

37 yam dharmma-sētu[r-*] narānā(ṇāṁ) kalē kāl[ē] pālanīrvō(yō) bhava[d*]bhi[ḥ*] [|*] sa- [|*] sa-'

38 rvvān=ētā[n*] bhāvina[ḥ*] pārthivēndrā[n*] bhu(bhū)yō bhu(bhū)yō yāchatē Rāmabhadra[ḥ*][1] [3*||]

39 A[ksha]śāli-Pākōsasya tanayēna Rēükēna utkīrṇṇā(ṇṇā)

40 tāmvra-paṭṭikā iti [||*]

1. These three imprecatory verses are replete with orthographical errors.

NO. 9– MĀṆḌHAL COPPER PLATE CHARTER OF PRAVARASĒNA II, YEAR 16

(*2 Plates*)

Ajay Mitra Shastri, Nagpur

Archaeological excavations at Māṇḍhal, a small village situated at a distance of about seventy-five kms. to the south-east of Nagpur, in the Umred Tahsil of the Nagpur District,. Maharashtra State, conducted by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of the Nagpur University in 1976-77 and 1977-78 have brought to surface important archaeological finds throwing welcome light on the early history and culture of the Vidarbha region. The antiquity and archaeological potential of the site attracted attention as a result of the explorations undertaken in the wake of information about the discovery of three ancient images by the Forest Department in the course of efforestation programme in July 1974. These sculptures representing Lakulīśa, Ashṭamūrti and Sadāśiva forms of God Śiva are now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. The excavations undertaken subsequently with the object of ascertaining the cultural deposit and its nature yielded evidence of habitation dating back to the Sātavāhana and Vākāṭaka periods. The evidence for the Sātavāhana period is quite clear even though it is not as well represented as the Vākāṭaka period for which we have very rich data. The finds dating from the Vākāṭaka-Gupta period include remains of three brick temples, about a dozen sculptures of Hindu gods and goddesses, some of them quite unique in the entire range of early Indian plastic art, and a number of minor antiquities.[1] However, the most important from the point of view of a historian was the discovery of three copper-plate charters of the Vākāṭakas intact with their rings and seals. These plates, which were found in an earthen pot just below the surface at the mound locally known as Bhōlā Huḍkī, throw welcome light on the Vākāṭaka history and constitute nearly one-tenth of the Vākāṭaka epigraphs known to date.

One of these copper-plate inscriptions belongs to Pravarasēna II and two[2] to his grandson Pṛithivīshēṇa II, both belonging to the main branch of the Vākāṭakas.

Pravarasēna II's charter[3] comprises a set of five plates of copper of which the first and the last are engraved on the inner side only, while the remaining three plates bear writing on both sides. The plates measure approximately 12 cms. in height and 18 cms. in breadth. About the middle of the left margin of each plate there is a roughly circular hole through which passes a circular ring which is about .5 cm. thick and about 12.2x 11.5 cms in diameter and holds the plates together. Sliding on the ring is a circular seal of copper with a perforated handle on its back, through which the ring passes. The

1. For a brief account, see *Vidarbha Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍaḷa Vārshika*, 1977, pp. 142-174.

2. [These two charters have also been edited by the same author and included in the present volume-Ed.]

3. This is No. A5 of *A.R.I.E.*, 1976-77.

seal has a diameter of 7.3 cms. and is .4 cm. thick. The edges of the plates are neither raised nor made thicker. Still the writing is excellently well preserved. On the surface of the seal is inscribed a four-line legend in the *Anushtubh* metre as on the seals attached to other known copper-plate charters of the Vākāṭakas. The total weight of the five plates is 2775 gms. and that of the ring and the seal 370 gms.

The record comprises forty-four lines of writing; the inscribed faces of the first and second plates and the second side of the third plate bear five lines each whereas six lines are incised on the remaining incised faces of the plates.

The **characters,** like those of the other records of Pravarasēna II, belong to the **box-headed variety of the southern alphabet** and do not call for any special observation. Still the following points may be noticed: the medial *ā* is usually attached to the top of the box, but in *satyā,* line 9, it is attached to the bottom of the box; that in *jā* and *jñā* it often takes a strong curve and its lower end often touches the left top of *j, e.g., jā* in line 14 and *jñā* in lines 22 and 24; in *hā* it is generally in the form of a horizontal stroke to right on top of the box; but sometimes it shows a downward stroke at its right end as elsewhere; see *hā* in *mahā°* line 4, and *mahārāja,* line 12. Medial *ī* is indicated by a couple of curved horns, that to the right covering the left one; but in *kī* in *kīrtna,* line 39, the left horn is not fully formed. Medial *au* is bipartite, as in *dauhitra,* line 7, *śauryya,* line 9, *kautsa,* line 20. The angular stroke attached to the bottom of the vertical line of *k* is sometimes carried so high up as to almost join the left end of the cross-bar of the letter; see *Vākāṭakā°* (second *kā*), line 3, *kāruṇya,* line 9, *kōśa,* line 11, *kātta°* and *Vākāṭakā,°* line 16, etc. *J* is formed differently at different places. Sometimes we notice a notch in its upper horizontal line; see lines 3, 5, 6, 10, 16, etc. At several places a small vertical downward stroke emanates from the right end of the upper horizontal line : see *°rāja* in lines 3 and 5; *°jala* in line 6; *°ty-ārjjava* in line 9; *vijayitva* in line 10, etc. The subscript *ñ* is correctly formed in *jñā* in line 3 on the seal; but in *jñā* in line 24 it is imperfectly formed without the stroke on the right whereas in *jñā* in lines 22 and 25 and in *jñā* in line 25 it looks exactly like *jh.* There is practically no difference between the letters *ḍ* and *d;* see line 1. The subscript *dh,* line 2, is open in its upper part with the result that it looks like medial *ṛi. N* is invariably looped; but from the upper part of the loop often emanates a downward curve to the right as in *°yājinaḥ,* line 2, *sūnōḥ,* line 4, *°ktānān,* line 6, etc.; but in other cases the loop is attached on the left to the middle of the vertical line as in *Vākāṭakānāṁ* and *Pravarasēnasya,* line 3, *°dvahana,°* line 5, *sūnō,°* line 9, etc. As against this, *t* is always without a loop; but there seems to be a confusion when the two letters are joined with *t* intended as a subscript; see, for instance, *atyatna,* line 4; *santāna,* lines 11-12; or while writing *tt* as in *Taittiri,.* line 20, *datna,* line 21, etc. and in writing *nn* as in *sannivēśita,* lines 4-5. The right limb of subscript *y* is sometimes carried so high as to be on a level with the upper part of the other letter; ; see *°sēnasya,* line 3. The angular form of subscript *v* is met with only in *°śvamēdha,* line 2, *°svāmi,* line 4, *māhēśvara,°* line 9, *°Vvākaṭakānā,°* line 12, *°pūrvva,°* lines 28 and 29, *°rvvidyā,* line 29, and *vvā,°* line 41, whereas, in all other cases, it is highly cursive with its upper part open in most

cases where it looks like subscript *y*.[1] The sign of *jihvāmūlīya* is met with in line 35 and that of *upadhmānīya'* in lines 15 and 35.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and, but for an imprecatory stanza in lines 41-42 and the verse on the seal, the inscription is in prose throughout. As for **orthography**, we may note the reduplication of the consonant following *r* which is quite common (e.g., *ptōryyāmō*, line 1; *mūrddhā°* line 6; °*ṛjjava*, line 9; *śauryya*, line 10, etc.) and of that preceding it (e.g., *ggrāmō*, line 17) which is very rare. The consonant preceding *y* is also often reduplicated (e.g., *upāddhyāya*, line 21; °*ddhyaksha*, line 23). *V* following intended *anusvāra* is also sometimes reduplicated; see *sāvvatsarika*, line 19, and *dattāvvā*, line 41. It may be added that the draft of the record is full of errors.

The present record, like several other charters of the **Vākāṭakas**, begins with the word *dṛishṭam*, 'seen', followed by the auspicious word *svasti*. The charter was issued from Pravarapura from which the other grants of Pravarasēna II were also given. It belongs to the Vākāṭaka king **Pravarasēna II** who is described as the son of **Rudrasēna II** born of **Prabhāvatīguptā**, daughter of *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvagupta, i.e., Chandragupta II. His family history from **Pravarasēna I** to his own time through **Gautamīputra, Rudrasēna I, Pṛithivīshēṇa I** and **Rudrasēna II** is given in the same manner as in some other records of his reign.

The object of the inscription is to register the grant of the village **Mayasagrāma** situated in the western division of the district of **Beṇṇāṭaṭa** by Pravarasēna II in favour of the brāhmaṇa *Upādhyāya* Mātṛisvāmin, son of *apratigrāhaka Upādhyāya*,[2] who was an inhabitant of Beṇṇāṭaṭa and a student of the Taittirīya *śākhā* of the black *Yajurvēda* and belonged to the Kautsa *gōtra*. The grant is stated to have been made in the first part of the night *(pradōsha)*[3] in the month of **Kārttika in the sixteenth year**, obviously of Pravarasēna II's reign. The order in respect of the grant was given by the king himself and it was expected to be communicated to the soldiers *(bhaṭas)* and policemen, *(chhātras)* under the ***kulaputras*** appointed by the *Sarvādhyaksha*. The grant was accompanied by the privileges and exemptions usually attached to the villages of the brāhmaṇas learned in the four Vēdas (i.e., Brāhmaṇa villages) such as exemption from the payment of taxes, entry of soldiers and policemen, customary obligation to provide cows and bulls, flowers, milk, grass, hides as seats and charcoal and dues on account of the digging for salt and the purchase of fermenting liquors and all kinds of forced labour and right to hidden treasures and deposits and major and

---

1. The cursive form appears in the Chammak plates of Pravarasēna II which were issued only a year later. *CII.*, Vol. IV, pp. 22 ff. and plate VI.

2. The name of the donee's father has been left out by oversight, *apratigrāhaka*, i.e., 'non-acceptor of donations', being only a descriptive epithet. We learn from the Māṇḍhal grant of Pṛithivīshēṇa II's second regnal year that his real name was Drōṇasvāmin.

3. *Pradōsha* means the first part of the night, evening. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English-Dictionary*, p. 680. *cf.* Kālidāsa, *Kumārasaṁbhava*, sarga, 5, v. 44, *vada pradōshē vinikīrṇatārakā vibhāvarī yady=aruṇāya kalpatē.*

minor taxes. The grant was, as usual, made for the increase of the merit, life, strength, victory and prosperity of the king himself, but one-third of the merit accruing from the grant is said to have been intended for Ājñākabhaṭṭārikā, who is described as the mother of one Narindarāja (Narēndrarāja). The inscription was written when Chitravarman held the office of *sēnāpati.*[1] At the end, the date of the record is given as the 10th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārttika in the 17th year, evidently of the reign of the donor.

The four-line inscription on the seal, which is met with on the seals affixed to other charters of Pravarasēna II also, gives no information of historical interest.[2]

It will be noticed that the inscription has two dates, one in connection with the donation (Kārttika in the sixteenth year) and the other in connection with the writing of the record (Kārttika kṛishna 10, seventeenth year,), though the details of the first date have been omitted. The first date evidently refers to the date when the grant was made while the second one gives us the date of the execution of the charter. Now, as the grant was made in the month of Kārttika in the 16th year and the charter was written and issued in the same month in the following year, it will be seen that there was an interval of nearly one full year between the two events. This phenomenon is not unusual and is noticed in some other records also.

These dates are of some interest for the history of the main branch of the Vākāṭakas. Both the Bēlōra charters of Pravarasēna II, dated in the eleventh year of his reign, like the Jamb plates of his second regnal year,[3] were issued from Nandivardhana.[4] The Chammak grant of the eighteenth year was, on the other hand, given from Pravarapura.[5] It is, therefore, held that Pravarasēna II shifted his capital from Nandivardhana to Pravarapura sometime between the eleventh and eighteenth years of his reign. The present inscription antedates this even by a couple of years. In the light of the evidence afforded by our record we can now suggest that the capital of the main branch of the Vākāṭakas was shifted from Nandivardhana to Pravarapura sometime in or prior to the sixteenth but after the eleventh year of the reign of Pravarasēna II.

As stated above, a part of the merit from the grant was intended to accrue to Ājñākabhaṭṭārikā, mother of Narēndrarāja. These two personages cannot be identified in the present state of inadequate information. However, that they belonged to royalty is apparent from the words *bhaṭṭārikā* and *rāja* attached to their names. But whether

1. Chitravarman served as *sēnāpati* under Pravarasēna II from his 13th regnal year to his 18th regnal year and the present charter, coming in between the two periods, dated in his 17th regnal year, corroborates this [Ed.].
2. On the present seal the last word is intended to be *ripu-sāsinaḥ* whereas on other seals we have *ripu-śāsanaṁ*.
3. *CII.*, Vol. V, pp. 10-15.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-21.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-27.

Narēndrarāja is to be identified with Pravarasēna II's son and successor Narēndrasēna, who may have been acting as a crown prince during the period in question, is something that cannot be determined. But if the question is to be answered in the positive, the inscription would provide us the name of his mother and Pravarasēna II's chief queen. However, the manner of their mention does not lend support to such a conjecture. For, had Ājñākabhaṭṭārikā been the chief queen, she would not have been referred to simply as mother of Narēndrarāja. Had the two been so closely related to the reigning king, the drafter could not have afforded to omit a specific reference to their relationship. Moreover, if they occupied such a high position in the kingdom, it is inconceivable that the king thought of relegating only one-third of the religious merit to one of them. It appears, therefore, that Ājñākabhaṭṭārikā was the person at whose request the grant was made though her exact identity cannot be ascertained at present.[1]

As for the **localities** mentioned in our record, Pravarapura, the place of issue, is generally identified with Paunar on the bank of the river Dham in the Wardha District, Maharashtra. Beṇṇātaṭa, in whose western division the donated village was situated, is apparently identical with Beṇṇākaṭa mentioned in the Tirōdi plates of Pravarasēna II.[2] The use of the word *taṭa* in place of *kaṭa,* which shows their synonymity, is interesting linguistically. Beṇṇātaṭa, obviously, denoted the territory on the banks of the river Vēṇā or Wainganga.[3] It is noteworthy in this connection that one of the charters of Pṛithivīshēṇa II found at Māṇḍhal was issued from Beṇṇātaṭa-sthāna which was obviously the headquarters of the administrative division called Beṇṇātaṭa.[4] We can infer from the nomenclature 'western division'*(aparapaṭṭa)* that the area comprised in the district of Beṇṇātaṭa was divided into two parts, Eastern *(Pūrva)* and Western *(Apara),* the river Wainganga forming the dividing line. It may be mentioned here that the village donated by Pravarasēna II through his Tirōdi plates was also situated in the western division of Beṇṇākaṭa. The donated village, Mayasagrāma, cannot be identified definitely. But in all probability, it represents modern Māṇḍhal, the provenance of the record.

---

1. For similar other instances, see D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy,* Delhi, 1965, pp. 114 ff.
2. *CII.,* Vol. V, p. 50, text-line 13.
3. Beṇṇākārpara-*bhōga,* mentioned in the Sivani plates of Pravarasēna II (*ibid.,* p. 30, text-lines 17-18), was another administrative division named after the Wainganga. Varāhamihira mentions Veṇātaṭa (*Bṛihatsaṁhitā,* iv 26) on the banks of the Wainganga as a source of diamonds (*ibid,* LXXIX. 6). See Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as seen in the Bṛihatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira,* pp. 63, 325.
4. *Vidarbha Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika,* 1977, p. 170, text-line 1.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 Drishṭa[2] svasti [||*] Pravarapurād=agnishṭōm-āptōryy am-ōkthya-shōḍaśy-atirātra-vāja-

2 pēya-bṛihaspatisava-sādyaskra-chatur-aśvamēdha-yājinaḥ[3] Vishṇuvriddha-

3 sagōtrasya pa(sa)mrāṭ[4] Vākāṭakānā[ṁ*] mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya

4 sūnōs=sūnōḥ atyatna(nta)-Svāmi-Mahābhairava-bhē(bhai)rava-bhaktasya a(aṁ)saṁ(sa)-bhārasannivi-

5 viśita[5]gi(śi)va-liṅgā(ṅg-ō)dvahana-śiva-suparitya(tu)shṭa- samutpādita-rājavaṁśānā-

Second Plate . First Side

6 m=parākrama(m-ā)dhigata-Bhāgi(gī)rathy-asa(ma)la-jala-mūrddh-ābhishikta(ktā) nān=daśāśvamē-

7 dh-āvabhṛitha-snātānām=Bhāraśivānām=mahārāja- śri(śrī)-Bhavanāga-dauhitrasya

8 Gō(Gau)tamīputrasya putrasya Vākāṭakānāṁ mahārāja-śri(śrī)-Rudrasē-

9 nasya sūnōr=atyatta(nta)-māhēśvarasya saty-[ā]rjjava-kāruṇya-śauryya-vikrama-na-

10 ya-vinaya-ma(mā)hā tmya-dhīmatva(ttva)-pātra-gata-bhaktitva- dharmma-vijayi-tva-manō-nairmma-

Second Plate · Second Side

11 ly-[ā]di-guṇō(ṇa)[6] -samupētasya-varsha-śatam= abhivarddhamāna-kōśa-daṇḍa-sādhana-sa-

---

1. From the original plates and impressions.
2. Read *Drishṭam* [||*]
3. Here as well as in many subsequent places, *sandhi has not been observed.*
4. *Read samrājō*
5. Read °*sannivēśita*-.
6. In other Vākāṭaka charters, the expression generally met with is *guṇaiḥ*. (see *CII.*, Vol. V, p. 12, 1.12; ibid., p. 18, 1.8 etc.)

12 tnā(ntā)na-putra-pautra(tri)tō (ṇō) Yudhishṭhira-va(vṛi)ttēr=Vvāka(kā)ṭakānā[ṁ*] mahārāja-śrī-Pri(Pṛi)thivī[se](shē)-

13 [1] ṇasya sūnōr=bbhagavataś=Chakrapāṇa(ṇē)[h=pra*] sād-ōpārjjita-śrī-samudayasya

14 Vākāṭakānā[ṁ*] mahārāja-śrī-Rudrasa(sē)nasya sūnō[ḥ*] mahārājādhirā-

15 ja-śrī-Dēvagupta-sutāyām=Prabhāvati(tī)guptāyām=utpannasya śāmbhāḥ[2]=pra-

Third Plate . First Side

16 sāda-dhriti(ta)-kātta[3]yugasya Vākāṭakānām=paramamāhēśvara-mahārāja-śrī-

17 Pravarasēnasya vachanā[t*] Beṇṇātaṭa(tē) apara-paṭṭē Mmayasagrāmō

18 tnā(nā)ma grāma[ḥ*] pu(pū)rvva-sthita-si(sī)ma-parigrahēṇa

19 shōḍashama-sāvvatsarika[4] -Kārttika-pradādhō[5]

20 Bēṇṇātaṭa-vāstavya-Taitni(tti)rika-Kautsa-sagōtra-[6] apratigrāpa(ha)ka-

21 Upāddhyāya-putra-Upāddhyāya-Mātrisvāminē datna(tta)[ḥ*]

Third Plate : Second Side

22 atra cha dha[r*]mma-tri-bhāgaḥ Narinda(rēndra)rā[ja*]-jananyā Ājñāka-bha-

23 ṭṭārikāyā[ḥ*] yatō=smat-sanna(nta)kaḥ(kāḥ) savya(rvā)ddhyā(ddhva)ksha-niyōgaḥ (ga)-

24 niyutnō[7] ājñā-sañchāri-kulaputr-ādhikritā[ḥ*] bhaṭā-

25 ś=chhātrāś=cha vipu(śru)ta=pūrvvay=ājñay=ājñāpayitavyā[ḥ*] viditam=astu

1. The numerical figure 2 is engraved before the letter *ṇa*, in order to indicate the number of the plate [Ed.].

2 Read *Śambhōḥ=*.

3 Read *kārtta*

4 Read *shōḍaśamē sāmvatsarikē*.

5 Read [*Pradōshē* - Ed., See f. n. above].

6 *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

7 Read *niyuktā[ḥ*]*

MĀṆḌHAL COPPER PLATE CHARTER OF PRAVARASĒNA II, YEAR 16

i

ii a

K. V. Ramesh

ii b

iii a

26 vaḥ yath-ēh-āsmābhir=ātmanō dharmm=āyur-bya(ba)la-vijayi(y-ai)śya(śva) ryya-

Fourth Plate · First Side

27 vivṛiddhayē ih=āpu(mu)tra-hit-ārttham=ātm-ānugrahāya vaijē(ja)- [yi*]

28 kē dharmma-sthānē mu(a)purvva-da[t*]tyā udaka-pūrvvam=atisṛishṭa[ḥ|*]

29 Uchitāṁ* ś=ch=asya pūrvva-rāj-ānumatāñcha (ñ-chā)turvvidya-grāma-maryyā-

30 dān=vitarāmas=tad=yathā a-karadāyi (yī) abhaṭa-chchha(chchhā)tra-prāvēśya[h*]

31 a-pārampara-gō-balīvardda[ḥ*] a-pushpa-kshīra-[sa]ṁdōha[ḥ*] a-cha(chā)r-ā-

32 sana-charmm-āṅgārah a-lavaṇa-klinna-klē(krē)ni(ṇi)-khanaka[ḥ*] sarrvya-va (vi)shṭi-

Fourth Plate. Second Side

33 parihāra-parihṛitaḥ sa-nidhi[ḥ*] s-ōpanidhi[ḥ*] sa-kli(klṛi)pt-ōpakli(klṛi)pta[h*]

34 ā-chandr-āditya-kāli(lī)yaḥ putra-pautr-ānugāmikaḥ bhuñjatā (tō) nā kēna-

35 chid=vyāghātāh=karttavyaḥ savva-krayābhissarakshitavyaḥ[1] =parivarddha-

36 yitavyaś=cha[2] yaś=ch=āsmachchha(ch=chhā)sa(sa)nam=agaṇayamānaḥ (sva-) lpām=api [pa*]ri-

37 bādhā[ṁ*] kuryyāt=kārayita vā tasya brāhmaṇai[r*]=vēditasya sa-daṇḍa-nigraha[ṁ*]

38 kuryyāma[ḥ*||] Asmi[ṁ*]ś=cha dharmmādara kiraṇē[3] atīt-ānēka-rāja-

---

1 Read *sarvva-kriyābhis=saṁrakshitavyaḥ*

2 There is a *visarga* - like punctuation mark here.

3 Read *dharmm-ādara-karaṇē* or *dharmm-ādhikaraṇē* as in other Vākāṭaka plates.

Fifth Plate

39 datta-sahittyana[1] -paripālana[ṁ*] kṛita-puṇy-ānukīrtna(tta)na-parihārār-

40 ttha[n *]kı(kī)rttayāmaḥ[।*] Vyāsa-gītaś=ch-ātra ślōka[ḥ*] pramāṇi(ṇī)karttavyaḥ[*]

41 Sva-dattām=para-dattā[ṁ*]vvā(vā) yōrēdyōvai[2] yasundharāṁ[3][।*] gavā[ṁ*] śata-sa-

42 hasrasya hantur=harati dushkataḥ[4] [|| 1 ||*] svayam=ājñāpta[5]

43 likhitaḥ(m) Sēṇāpati[6] Chitravarmmani savvatsarē[7]saptadaśame

44 Kārttika-māsa-bahula-paksha-dasa(śa)myā[ṁ*] [8]

Seal

1 Vākāṭaka-lama(lā)masya

2 kkra(kra)ma-prāpta-nṛipa-śriya[ḥ*]

3 rājña[ḥ*] Pravarasēnasya

4 śāsana[ṁ*] ripu-śāsana[m*] [9]

---

1 Read - *sañchintana* -

2 Read *yō harēta.*

3 Read *vasundharām.*

4 Read *dushkṛitam.* The metre of this verse is *Anushṭubh.*

5 Read *svayam* =ājñaptiḥ [।*] ·

6 Read *sēnāpatau.*

7 Read *saṁvatsarē.*

8 There is an arrow like mark on the right side of the letter *myā,* probably standing for a punctuation mark.

9 The metre of this verse is *Anushṭubh.*

iii b

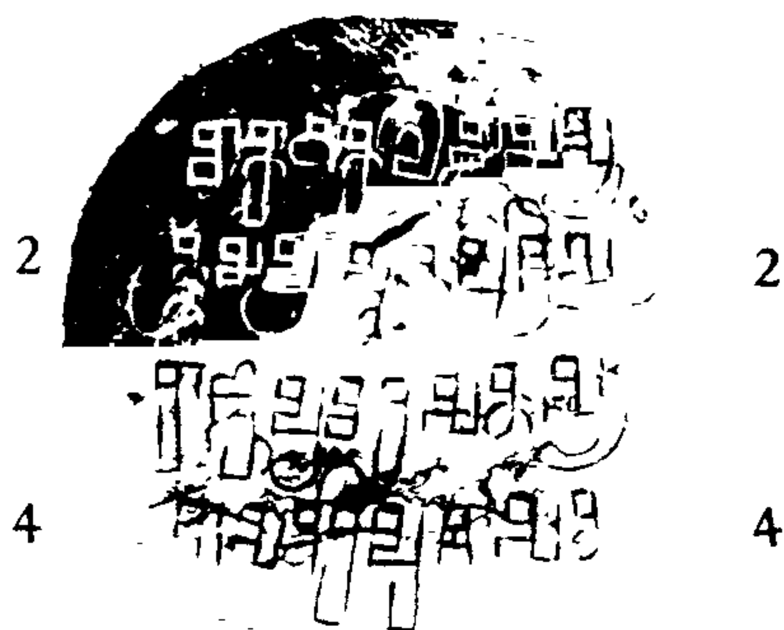
iv a

iv b

v

SCALE . THREE-FOURTHS

SEAL



NO. 10 – TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM DĀRĀŚURAM AND THE DATES OF THREE CHŌḶA KINGS

(*1 Plate*)

N. Sethuraman, Kumbakonam

The village Dārāśuram is situated about four kilometres west of Kumbakōṇam. The Airāvātēśvara temple of this village is a protected monument maintained by the Madras Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India. This is a gigantic all-stone *Vimāna* temple built by *Parakēśarivarmaṉ* Rājarāja-Chōḷa II (1146-73 A.D.).[1] The ealiest inscription[2] in this temple is dated in the 21st year of Rājarāja II corresponding to 1166-67 A.D. Evidently the temple came into existence prior to that date. In this inscription the diety is called Rājarājīśvaramuḍaiyār after the builder of the temple, Rājarāja II. The record refers to the temple groves situated in the *viḷāgam* (colony) in *Rājarājaṉ-tiruppati* and to those lying east and west of *Rājarāja-viḷāgam*. The treasury *Rājarājaṉ-karuvūlagam* and the garden *(tirunandavanam) Chōḷēndrasiṅgaṉ*, so named after the surname of Rājarāja II, are also mentioned. From the other Chōḷa records[3] we come to know that the village itself was then called Rājarājapuram after the name of Rājarāja II.

The great Tamil Poet Oṭṭakkūttar lived during the reigns of three Chōḷa kings, namely Vikrama-Chōḷa (1118-35 A.D.), Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II (1133-50 A.D.) and Rājarāja-Chōḷa II. In his poem *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, Oṭṭakkūttar states that the temple *Rājarājīśvaram* was built by Rājarāja II.[4] The poet also describes the township of Rājarājapuram.[5] The hero of the poem is Lord Rājarāja-Īśvaramuḍaiyār.[6] In the poem the poet praises the fame and glory of Rājarāja (II).[7]

---

1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1926-27, p. 82, para. 25

2 17/1908. (This and all other similar references are from the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*. The figures to the right of the oblique refer to the year of the *Report* and the figures to the left refer to the serial number given to the concerned inscription in that *Report*). The record (17/1908) is important in another respect. It states that in the beginning of the 21st year of Rājarāja (i.e., in July, 1166 A.D.), the officer Araiyaṉ Niṉṟa Vāṅgi Āḍuvār *alias* Pottappi-Chōḷaṉ, the chief of Kaḷaṉivāyil, situated in Miḻalai-kūṟṟam, a sub-division of Rājarāja-Ppāṇḍi-nāḍu, requested the king to award some grants. It is evident from this that as late as in July, 1166 A.D., when the Pāṇḍyan civil war was at its zenith, the Chōḷas were still holding their control in the areas east of Madurai. Later, in 1170 A.D., the Chōḷa chieftains in the Pāṇḍya country were driven out by the Ceylon army. This will be clear from a reference to the initial state of the Pāṇḍyan civil war as narrated in Rājādhirāja II's Ārppākkam record (20/1899), year 5(*S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 456).

3 266/1927 and 433/1924.

4 *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, verse 772.

5 *Ibid.*, verses 17 and 18.

6 *Ibid.*, verse 778.

7 *Ibid.*, verses 549, 772 to 777, 803, 807 and 812.

Rājarāja II had the surname *Rājagambhīra* and this is evident from many of his inscriptions[1] and also from the poem *Takkayāgapparaṇi.*[2] Fittingly the label *Rāja-gambhīraṉ-tirumaṇḍapam* is found on a few pillars[3] of the *maṇḍapa* in the Airāvatēś-vara temple thus showing its existence from the time of Rājarāja II.

And inscription[4] of this temple, dated in the 8th year of Kulōttuṅga III (1178-1218 A.D.) refers to the palace *Rājarājaṉ-tirumāḷigai.* In this inscription the deity is mentioned as Rājarāja-Īśvaramuḍaiyār.

In the 14th century, when the Chōḷas were no more, the Chōḷa kingdom was under the sway of the later Pāṇḍyas some of whose records are available in this temple. A record[5] in the 3rd year of Māṟavarmaṉ Vīra-Pāṇḍya (acc. 1334 A.D.) mentions the deity of the temple as Rājarāja-Īśvaramuḍaiya-Nāyaṉār in the village Rārāpuram. A record[6] in the 4th year of Māṟavarmaṉ Śrīvallabha mentions the name of the deity as Irārāśuramuḍaiya-Nāyaṉār in the village Irārāśuram. A Vijayanagara record,[7] dated in 1486 A.D., states that the temple is situated in Irārāśuram. Thus, in course of time, while Rājarājapuram took the corrupt form Rārāpuram, Rājarāja-Īśvaram got changed into Irārāśuram which, in turn, became further corrupted into Dārāsuram by which name the village is known today. Airāvatēśvara, the present name of the deity, is not found in the inscriptions. Probably this name came into existence in the 18th century.

In the beginning of the 19th century Col. Mackenzie visited this temple and collected a few records found on the walls of the *prākāras.* His collections were eye-copies. Later, in 1908, some of the inscriptions of this temple were copied by the Office of the Chief Epigraphist. I compared the collections of Mackenzie and the reports of 1908 with the actual inscriptions engraved on the wall. There are some mistakes and mixing up of the records in the collections of Mackenzie.[8] The records which Mackenzie mixed up are available on the wall but parts of them are buried under the ground. This prompted me to suspect that some more records could also be found at the bottom of the wall below the ground level. I had discussions on these points with Shri K.G. Krishnan, the then Chief Epigraphist who evinced keen interest in the matter.

In April 1979, Dr. C.R. Srinivasan of the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, accompanied by Mr. Chandu Nair, the Copyist, visited this temple. I was also present on that

---

1 440/1912; 45/1914; 128/1929; 146/1938 and 4/1946.

2 *Takkayāgapparaṇi,* verse 774.

3 *A.R.Ep.,* 1926-27 p. 82, para. 25 read with 256/1927.

4 20/1908.

5 21/1908; N. Sethuraman: *The Imperial Pandyas - Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology,* p. 201.

6 23/1908; The Palaeography corresponds to the middle of the 14th century. Probably this Māṟavarmaṉ Śrīvallabha was the king who came to the throne in 1351 A.D. See, *A.R.Ep.,* 1939-40 to 1942-43, p. 245.

7 22/1908

8 *South Indian Temple Inscriptions,* Vol. II, p. 560, record No. 567. I am quoting Mackenzie because his great work helps us in finding the missing records as well as new ones.

occasion. After a careful survey we found the record which Col. Mackenzie had mixed up with the record of Rājarāja II. The former belongs to Kulōttuṅga III and it states that Kulōttuṅga cut off the head of the Pāṇḍya of the lunar race. The latter is record No. 17/1908. The discovery prompted us to search for some more records. An excavation was conducted in front of the east wall of the first *prākāra,* left of entrance. A trench, approximately 7 metres long, 2 meters wide and 2 meters deep, was dug. Our expectations were amply fulfilled. The sub-joined inscriptions A and B were found at the bottom of the wall, below the ground level. With great difficulty the inscriptions were copied.

The records are in Tamil language and the script is also Tamil with a sprinkling of Grantha letters. The palaeography of the records corresponds to that of late 12th century. The writing is damaged in several places. However, from the available portions much can be made out. As regards orthographic features the two records have much in common. The letters are bold. Quite often a loop is engraved on the top left side of letters like *ka, ku, ra,* etc., probably for the sake of ornamentation. At any rate the writings are uniform in style and character.

At the outset let us discuss some words of lexical interest occurring in the records. The expressions *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi* (line 5 of A and lines 4 and 5 of B), *ūr-kaṇakkaṉ* (line 2 of B), *ūr-kaṇakku-kāṇi* (line 5 of B) and *śempādi-kāṇi* (line 8 of A and lines 2 and 5 of B) occurring in the records are of technical nature. *Kāṇi* means right of possession or enjoyment of lands granted for a purpose. When the beneficiary was allowed to enjoy half the income from those lands, the grant was called *śempādi-kāṇi.*

Kōyil-kaṇakku means 'temple account'. *Kōyil-kaṇakkaṉ* means 'temple accountant'. Certain specified lands belonging to the temple would be granted to him for his livelihood and such a grant *(kāṇi)* was called *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi. Śempādi-kāṇi* in *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi* means that the temple accountant could enjoy half the income from the grant and the rest should be remitted to the temple.

Ūr-kaṇakku means 'village account'. *Ūr-kaṇakkaṉ* means 'village accountant'. He would be granted some lands *(kāṇi)* for his livelihood. Such a grant was called *ūr-kaṇakku-kāṇi. Śempādi-kāṇi in ūr-kaṇakku-kāṇi* means that the village accountant would enjoy half the income from the lands granted to him and the rest should be remitted into the Government Treasury.

Record A[1] is in nine lines, each of which is approximately 5.3 meters in length. It is dated in the fourth year of the Chōḷa king *Tribhuvanachakravarti Rājakēsarivarmaṉ* Rājādhirājadēva (II). The first three lines contain the king's usual Tamil *praśasti* beginning with *Kaḍal-śūḻnda-pārmādarum,* etc. The *praśasti* is damaged in many places. However, there is no difficulty in reconstructing the same since the available portions

1. This is the continuation of 18/1908 whose first few lines were copied in 1908. The rest came to light during the excavation in April, 1979.

are clear. The object of the record is to confirm the grants mentioned in lines 3 to 9 which unfortunately are very much damaged. In spite of the serious damages we can extract something out of the available portions.

It is said that the record is the royal letter received in accordance with the oral order made by the king Rājādhirājadēva, in his fourth year. It is further said that the order was made at the request of Pallavarāyar (line 7). The request was to confirm the grants made to the beneficiaries Āḷuḍaiyān and the temple accountant. It is stipulated that Āḷuḍaiyān.... should conduct *kuḍamañjaṇai (?)* before Lord.... Naṭarāja (line 5, ... *kūttāḍum perumāṉ muṉ kuḍamañjaṇai eḻundaruḷivikka...).* Probably he was awarded some grants for this purpose, but the relevant portion is damaged and we cannot know the exact nature of the grants. The *śempādi-kāṇi* in *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi,* for the purpose of keeping the temple account, was also to be granted to the temple accountant in whose name the *kāṇi* (grant) stood. Accordingly the *śempādi-kāṇi* in *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi* was granted to the temple accountant and it was communicated to the temple authorities. It was also ordered that the grants were to be enjoyed by the beneficiaries and their descendants (line 8, *taṅgaḷukkun-taṅgaḷ vaṟgattārkum).* The royal deed was written by the royal secretary *(tirumandira ōlai)* Rājēndraśiṅga-Mūvēnda-vēḷān. The signatories were Nuḷambādirājar, Vayirāgarājar, Chittrarājar, Chēdirājar and Pallavarājar. The record ends by stating that it was engraved on the four hundred and fifty [third] day of the fourth regnal year.

The entire transaction amounts to this. Āḷuḍaiyān should conduct some service before the image of Lord Naṭarāja. Probably he received as remuneration some grants the nature of which is not known. The temple accountant was enjoying some lands of the temple since he was looking after the temple accounts. It was ordered that he may enjoy half the income from those lands and the rest should be paid to the temple. The above grants were to be enjoyed by the beneficiaries and their descendants. The grants were confirmed by the king at the request of Pallavarāyar.

Since the record is much damaged it is not possible to know the name of the temple in which Āḷuḍaiyān and the accountant were serving. Probably it was the same Dārāśuram temple where the record is found.

Record B is engraved just below record A. It is in seven lines, each of which is approximately 6.2 metres in length. It is a royal letter (line 1, *śrī-tirumugam*) dated in the [four] hundred and forty third day of the fifth year in the reign of *Tribhuvana-chakravarti Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān.* The object of the record is to confirm the following *śempādi-kāṇi* grants awarded to Āṟṟūruḍaiya Kūttaṉ (line 1):

1 *Śempādi-kāṇi* in *ūr-kaṇakku-kāṇi* was granted to Āṟṟūruḍaiya Kūttaṉ (the village accountant) for maintaining the accounts of the village Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam situated in a district whose name is lost (line 2).

2 *Śempādi-kāṇi* in *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi* (line 4) for maintaining the accounts of the (six) *Paḷḷippaḍai* (temples, viz.) Rājagambhīra-Īśvaramuḍaiyār temple, Bhuvana-muḻudum-Īśvaramuḍaiyār temple, Tribhuvanamuḻuduḍai-Īśvaramuḍaiyār temple, Ēḻulagamuḻuduḍai-Īśvaramuḍaiyār temple, Ulaguḍai-Mukkōkkiḻānaḍi-Īśvaram-uḍaiyār temple, and..... Īśvaramuḍaiyār temple the full name of which is lost (lines 2 and 3). It is said that these temples are situated in the same district in which Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam is situated (line 2, *innāṭṭu*).

In accordance with the oral order made by the king in the beginning of the fifth year, the grants were confirmed and the order was sent for making necessary entries in the registers. Accordingly, in the *ūr-kaṇakku-kāṇi* of the village Rājarāja-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam and in the *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi* of the *paḷḷippaḍai* temples (lines 5, *paḷḷippaḍai-kkōyilgaḷil kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇiyilum*), the grants were entered as *śempādi-kāṇi* in favour of the beneficiary. It is said that in each of the first five temples, an inscription confirming the grant of *śempādi-kāṇi* in *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi* in favour of the benefi-ciary was also engraved (line 3, ...*kōyililum kalveṭṭi*). The royal letter was written by the royal secretary Rājēndraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷān. The signatories were Maḷavarājar, Śiṅgaḷarājar, Vayirāgarājar, Chēdirājar, Chittrarājar and Rājēndrachōḷa-Kaḷappāḷarājar. The record ends by stating that the royal order was engraved on the wall on the four hundred and sixty third day of the fifth year.

The sequence of the above transaction is as follows: It is a royal letter issued on the 443rd day of the 5th year of *Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōnēriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ* confirming the oral order made in the beginning of the fifth year (line 4, *aññāvadu mudal*). Āṟṟūr-uḍaiyaṉ Kūttaṉ was the accountant of the village Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. He was also the accountant of the six *paḷḷippaḍai* temples mentioned above. He was awarded *śempādi-kāṇi* grants as follows:

1 Āṟṟūruḍaiya Kūttaṉ was maintaining the accounts of the village Rājarāja-chatur-vēdimaṅgalam. He was granted lands for this purpose. He was to enjoy half the income from the lands (and the rest should be paid into the Government Treasury).

2 The same individual was also the accountant of six *paḷḷippaḍai* temples and he was granted lands belonging to those temples for maintaining their accounts. He was to enjoy half the income from the lands (and the rest should be paid to the temples).

3 The record states (line 3) that in each of the first five *paḷḷippaḍai* temples, an inscription confirming the grant of *śempādi-kāṇi* in *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi* in favour of Āṟṟūruḍaiya Kūttaṉ, was engraved.

4 The order was engraved on the temple wall (of the Dārāśuram temple) on the 463rd day of the 5th year.

Record B is important in several respects. It refers to the existence of six *pallippadai* temples in the same locality. One and the same accountant was looking after the accounts of all these temples. A *pallippadai* temple is a sepulchral temple raised over the mortal remains of a deceased person, usually of royal extraction. Sepulchral temples are known to have been built over the mortal remains of such Chōla kings like Āditya I (871-908 A.D.), Ariñjaya-Chōla (954-60 A.D.), Pañchavan-Mādevi (who died in 1019 A.D.), one of the queens of Rājēndra I (1012-43 A.D.) and Vikrama-Chōla (1118-35 A.D.). Except the last one the others have been identified as extant at Tondaimān Ārrūr, Mēlpādi and Pattīśvaram respectively.[1]

Rājagambhīra was the surname of Rājarāja II. The Pallippadai-Rājagambhīra-Īśvaram-udaiyār temple was evidently a sepulchral temple built over his mortal remins. The other four *pallippadai* temples stood in the name of his four queens Bhuvanamuludum-Udaiyāl, Tribhuvanamuludum-Udaiyāl, Ēlulagamuludum-Udaiyāl, and Ulagudail Mukkōkkilānadi. The names of these four queens are found in Rājarāja II's Tamil *praśastis* which begin with *"Pūmaruviya-tirumādum"* or *"Pūmaruviya-polilēlum"*, etc.[2] Unfortunately the name of the sixth *pallippadai* temple is lost.

The record states that these six *pallippadai* temples were situated in the same district in which Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam was situated. The name of the district is lost. Since the record is engraved on the wall of the Dārāśuram temple we may not be far wrong if we search for the district in and around that area. Two records, which come from Dārāśuram and Kāñchīpuram and belong to Kulōttunga III, state that Ūrrukkādu *alias* Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam was situated in Āvūr-kūrram, sub-division of Nittavinōda-valanādu. The village Āvūr is about six Kilometers south of Dārāśuram. The village Ūrrukkādu exists even to-day and it is about six kilometers west of Āvūr. Near Ūrrukkādu there is a hamlet called Chaturvēdimangalam. In the circumstances we can safely surmise that the six *pallippadai* temples were probably situated in the district Nittavinōda-valanādu comprising the southern areas of the Kumbakonam and Papanasam Taluks. As on to-day the six *pallippadai* temples are not indentified. A careful exploration of the southern areas of the Kumbakonam and Papanasam Taluks may reveal their existence at least in the form of ruins if not as full structures.

The king *Kōnerinmaikondān* of Record B, in whose fifth year the *pallippadai* temple of Rājagambhīra-Īśvaramudaiyār and the *pallippadai* temples raised over the

---

1 *A.R Ep.*, 1926-27, pp. 76-78. A record which comes from Chidambaram belongs to Kōpperuñjinga (1243-79 A.D.) and it refers to Pallippadai-Vikramaśōlanallūr (*S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 710, lines 4-5).

2. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 220, 226 and 285; 369/1911; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 226, line 18 refers to the grant made by Ulagamuludum-Udaiyāl. In his poem *Rājarājaśōlan Ulā* the poet Ottakkūttar mentions Bhuvanamuludum-Udaiyāl. Probably she was the Chief queen. Also refer to *The Colas* by Sastri, 1975, p. 351.

3. Dārāśuram, 20/1908, Kulōttunga III, year 8, day 64 . (lines 3-4 – *Nittavinōda-valanā[ttu]......kūrrattu...... kādāṇa Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam*). Kāñchīpuram, 558/1919, Kulōttunga III, year 18 : Ūrrukkādu *alias* Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam in Āvūr-kūrram, a sub-division of Nittavinōda-valanādu. Also see, Āvūr, 81/1911, Rājēndra III, year 3; Pāpanāśam, 468/1922, Kulōttunga III, year 21.

mortal remains of the queens of Rājarāja are referred to, needs to be identified. This much is definite that *Kōnēriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ* was a later king and he ruled after Rājarāja II. In order to properly identify *Kōnēriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ* we must know, as exactly as possible, the dates of Rājarāja II, and his successors Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III.

Kielhorn surmised[1] that Rājarāja II came to the throne between the 6th of April and the 11th of July, 1146 A.D. The interval is 96 days. Kielhorn did his calculations on the basis of the then available materials. We can reduce the interval considerably with the help of later discoveries of inscriptions. To do this, however, we should have the correct concept of 'regnal year'. Earlier scholars thought that a regnal year contained 365 days as in the case of a solar or calendar year. On this basis they calculated the accession dates of the kings. Later discoveries of inscriptions reveal that a South Indian Hindu king counted his regnal year on the basis of his accession star.[2] This was the ancient Hindu calendar system. We shall apply this system in finding the accession dates of the above Chōḷa kings.

A record[3] which comes from Tirumāndurai is dated in the 15th year of Rājarāja II. The other details of date given therein are the month Mithuna, śu. 11, the star Svāti and Monday. The data agree with 5th June, 1161 A.D. Accordingly the star Svāti in Mithuna of 1146 A.D. falls in the 0th regnal year. The star was current on 20th June of that year.

A record[4] which comes from Tiruvalañjuḻi is dated in the 17th year of Rājarāja II. The other details of date are the month Karkaṭaka, ba. 12, the star Punarvasu and Wednesday. The data agree with 11th July, 1162 A.D. Accordingly the star Punarvasu in Karkaṭaka of 1146 A.D. falls in the first regnal year. The star was current on 9th July of that year.

20th June, 1146 A.D. = 0th regnal year
9th July, 1146 A.D. = 1st regnal year

This means that Rājarāja II came to the throne between the 21st of June and the 9th of July, 1146 A.D.

The upper limit of Rājarāja II's reign is under dispute. Different scholars have surmised differently. Some surmised[5] that Rājarāja II ruled upto 1163 A.D. Some

---

1. Above, Vol. IX, p. 219.
2. "The Regnal Year" by N Sethuraman, Vol V, *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, p 105; *A R Ep.*, 1947-48, page 3.
3. 234/1927.
4. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 226; Kielhorn Above, Vol VIII, p. 263.
5. Sadasiva Pandarathar : *Piṟkāla Chōḻargaḷ* (published by Annamalai University), p. 122

others surmised[1] that he died in 1164-65 A.D. Sastri surmised[2] that Rājarāja II ruled upto 1173 A.D. Let us re-examine here the issue of the last date of Rājarāja II. The records which belong to the closing years of Rājarāja's reign are tabulated below:

Records of Rājarāja II
(Closing years)

Table I

Record No.	Village	Regnal year	A.D.
Pd. 137	Poṇ-Amarāvati	19	1165
411/1909	Siddhaliṅgamaḍam	19	1165
86/1928	Tiruppugaḷūr	19	Ist Feb., 1165
151/1926	Tiruviḷakkuḍi	19	1165
S.I.I., Vol. IV, 1050	Drākshārāma	20	1166
132/1917	Penumūli	20	1166
S.I.I., Vol. IV, 1051	Drākshārāma	20	1166
17/1908	Dārāśuram	21	1167
708/1920	Kollūru	21	1167
N.D.I., 0/59	Koṇḍamañchalūru	21	1167
CP. 23/1916-17	Kandūru Copper Plates[3]	21 Śaka 1091	1169
695/1920	Pedakoṇḍūru	24	1170
704/1920	Kollūru	26	1172
123/1912	Tiruvoṟṟiyūr	27	1172-73
191/1899 } *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, 626 }	Koṇidena	28 } 'Saka 1095 }	July 1173 } or later }

The above are definitely the records of Rājarāja II as evidenced by either the title or the *praśasti* found in them, or because of other internal evidences. It is generally believed that records of the closing years of Rājarāja's reign are not found in Tamil Nadu.[4] It is not so. The following records belong to Rājarāja II and they introduce the king as *Tiribhuvaṉachakravarti* Rājarājadēva. Their astronomical data agree with the accession year of Rājarāja II only:

1 Above, Vol. XXII, p. 86, foot note 5.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 228 and *The Cōlas*, p. 354.
3 Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 225-47.
4 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 228.

Records of Rājarāja II from Tamil Nadu
(Last years)

Table II

Record No.	Village	Regnal year and Data	Date
434/1921	Tiruveṇṇainallūr	19, Tulā, śu. 8, Aviṭṭam, Sunday	25th October, 1164 A.D.
195/1908	Kōyilūr[1]	20, Makara, śu. 7, Aśvati, Monday	10th January, 1164 A.D. (The king was sick)
304/1921	Araśarkōyil	21, Siṁha, śu. Hastā, Monday	1st August, 1166 A.D.
196/1908	Kōyilūr	21, Kumbha	February, A.D.
213/1928-29	Tiruvāḍuturai	22, Dhanus, ba.7, Pūram, Monday	4th December, 1167 A.D.
121/1940-41	Tiruviḷambudūr	24, Karkaṭaka 4, Sunday	29th June, 1169 A.D.
495/1904	Vēdāraṇyam[2]	27, Makara, ba. 15, Pushya, Monday	1st January 1173 A.D.
389/1939-40	Uyyakkoṇḍān-Tirumalai	27, Ṛishabha, ba. 11, Rēvatī, Wednesday	9th May, 1173 A.D.

1 *Ibid*, Vol. XI, p. 128. Jacobi assigns 195/1908 to Rājarāja III (acc. 1216 A.D.) and equates the data to 5th January, 1237 A D. after correcting the regnal year 20 to 21 This is wrong. The regnal year reads *Irubadāvadu* (Twentieth) in words. The record belongs to Rājarāja II and it is datable to 10th January, 1166 A D It states that an image of a goddess was consecrated for the health of the king. Probably the king was sick in January, 1166 A D. and, in the circumstances, he hastened to crown Rājādhirāja II in June/July, 1166 A D as we shall see later. 196/1908 confirms the grants made for the worship and services of the images of the goddess consecrated for the health of the king as stated in 195/1908. Compare 195/1908 with 136/1932 of Rājarāja III, year 20, Makara, Aśvati, Wednesday. See the difference in the week days.

2. 495/1904 is published in *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 537. Either the doubtfully restored portion ba. 15 should be śu. 15, since Pushya in Makara is quoted, or ba. 15 is a mistake for śu. 15. Such a mistake is also found in *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 243. See, Kielhorn, above, Vol. VIII, p. 271. But the date suggested by Kielhorn for 495/1904 is not convincing since he corrected the regnal year 27 as 21, equated the details of date to 12th January, 1237 A.D. and assigned the record to Rājarāja III. See also Sewell, above, Vol. X, p. 135. No. 291/1907 belongs to Rājarāja III. The details of date, year 27, Makara, śu. 15, Pushya and Wednesday correspond to 7th January, 1243 A D. The same name of the king, the same details of date but different week-days clearly show that 495/1904 belongs to Rājarāja II.

Tables I and II confirm that Rājarāja II's record written in his closing years are available not only in Andhra but also in Tamil Nadu. We can find some more[1] provided the texts of all the known records of the Chōḷas are published in full. Rājarāja II was alive in July, 1173 A.D. We shall now try to fix his last date. Rājarāja II had a trusted Chief Minister whose full name was Kuḷattuḷāṉ Tiruchchiṟṟambalamuḍaiyāṉ *alias* Perumāṉ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar, and he was a native of Kārikai-Kuḷattūr in Śiṟukuṉṟa-nāḍu, a sub-division of Āmūr-kōṭṭam in Jayaṅkoṇḍaśōḻa-maṇḍalam. In the 10th year of Rājarāja's reign this Chief Minister built a temple at Kuḷattūr.[2] The deity of that temple was called Rājarājēśvaram-Uḍaiyār in honour of his master Rājarāja II. Even to-day the temple exists at Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai near Māyavaram in Tanjore District. Perumāṉ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar protected the children of Rājarāja at a time of stress.[3] He played a leading role in the campaigns of the Chōḷas against the Pāṇḍyas and the Ceylonese army during the initial stages of the Pāṇḍyan civil war[4] (1170-72 A.D.). In his poem *Takkayāgapparaṇi* the poet Oṭṭakkūttar praises Perumāṉ-Nambi-Pallavarā-yar.[5] When Rājrāja II was sick[6] it was Perumāṉ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar who advised the former to crown Rājādhirāja (II) as heir-apparent.

Rājādhirāja II came to the throne in June, 1166 A.D. as we shall see later. A record[7] which comes from Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai belongs to Rājādhirāja II's 8th regnal year which ended in June, 1174 A.D. The record states that Rājarāja II died first and later his Chief Minister Perumāṉ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar died. It is, therefore, evident that in June, 1174 A.D.,. Rājarāja II and his Chief Minister were both no more.

A record[8] which comes from Tiruvalañjuḻi is in the eighth regnal year of Rājādhi-rāja II and its date falls on 6th August, 1173 A.D. The record refers to the gift of a lamp made by Jayadhara-Pallavarāyar, a relative or staff of Perumāṉ-Nambi-Palla-varāyar. The record gives the full name and the attributes of Perumāṉ-Nambi. It is evident that Perumāṉ-Nambi was alive in August, 1173 A.D.

1. The Tiruppāmburam inscription (No. 90/1911) belongs to the 22nd year of Rājarāja II and it mentions the village as Tiruppāmburam. The same name appears in Kulōttuṅga III's 23rd and 27th years (86 and 85/1911). But in the 28th year of Kulōttuṅga the village is called Tiruppāmburam *alias* Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in the name of Kulōttuṅga III (91/1911). In certain records Kulōttuṅga III refers to the transactions done in the 19th, 20th and 23rd year of Rājarāja II's reign (229/1917, 278/1927 and 372/1919).

2 427 and 434/1924. Incidentally, Eḷavānāśūr, 163/1906, Rājarāja II, year 13, refers to a hall called *Pallavarā-yaṉ* in the Āyirattaḷi palace.

3 433/1924.

4 20/1899 and 433/1924.

5 *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, verse 236.

6 433/1924 to be read with foot note No. 1 in p. 85 above.

7 433/1924. Text is published in above Vol. XXI, No. 31.

8 627/1902. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 227, lines 9 to 11 imply that Perumāṉ-Nambi was alive in August, 1173 A.D. (for the date see Table V below).

To sum up, Rājarāja II was alive in July, 1173 A.D. His Chief Minister Perumāṇ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar was alive in August, 1173 A.D. Both were no more in June, 1174 A.D. Rājarāja II died first. Later his Chief Minister died. Thus we can surmise that Rājarāja II died in the third quarter of 1173 A.D. and Perumāṇ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar died, say, early in 1174 A.D.

Record B refers to the grants made to the accountant of Paḷḷippaḍai-Rājagambhīra-Īśvaramuḍaiyār temple. It is evident that the temple came into existence at the end of 1173 A.D. or early in 1174 A.D. Probably, prior to his own death, in honour of his deceased master, Perumāṇ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar built this temple. This is a reasonable guess even though we have no direct evidence. The truth can be found provided the said temple is identified.

The dates of Rājādhirāja II are still under dispute.[1] Kielhorn surmised[2] that Rājādhirāja II ascended the throne on some day approximately between the 28th February and the 30th March, 1163 A.D. He consulted the following inscriptions and suggested the equivalent dates:

Dates of Rājādhirāja II suggested by Kielhorn

Table III

Kielhorn's Number	Inscription	Regnal year	Dates suggested by Kielhorn
145	538/1904	2	30th March, 1164 A.D.
146	627/1902	8	10th August, 1170 A.D.
147	540/1904	10	27th February, 1173 A.D.
148	394/1902	11	15th August, 1173 A.D.
149	222/1904	13	8th July, 1181 A.D.

The last one is irregular. It yielded the date 8th July, 1181 A.D. which falls in the 19th year, if March, 1163 A.D. is considered as the commencement year of his reign. But the inscription itself states that it belongs to the 13th year. Something is wrong somewhere. In the foot note Kielhorn observed[3] that either the regnal year or the solar day as mentioned in the inscription was wrong. This inscription is irregular and it cannot be relied upon. Kielhorn, therefore, relied on the other four inscriptions only.

In 1906 enough source materials were not available; but research work had revealed that Rājādhirāja II reigned as king in between Rājarāja II and Kulōttuṅga III. In the circumstances Kielhorn made compromising calculations and arrived at the above

1 Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 271.

2 Kielhorn, *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 211-13.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 213, foot note 1.

conclusion. However, during his life-time Kielhorn did not publish these calculations. His calculations were published after his demise. This is a vital piece of information which we must remember. He had himself observed as follows:—

A) "I am also keeping back a number od dates of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II and Rajādhirāja II,'because I am not fully convinced of the correctness of my general results. The discovery of additional dates of these kings is highly to be desired and would be of considerable importance".[1] He said this in 1906.

Kielhorn was no more in 1907. In his notes, prepared in 1906, he left certain observations. They wered published in 1908. His observations are reproduced below :

B) "Five of these dates (Nos. 145-49) belong to king Rājādhirāja II *Rājakēsarivarmaṉ*, of whom no dates have yet been published, and whose reign these dates with great probability show to have commenced[2] between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March, A.D. 1163".

C) "The first four dates work out regularly on the assumption[3] that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March, A.D. 1163".

D) "From the materials available, I therefore infer[4] that Rājādhirāja *Rājakēsarivarmaṉ* i.e., Rājādhirāja II commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March, A.D. 1163".

Kielhorn made his surmise in 1906 and it was based on *approximation, probability* and *assumption.* He did not publish his surmise. On the other hand, Kielhorn readily conceded that he was not convinced of the correctness of his general results obtained for the dates of Rājādhirāja II. He kept these dates under reserve. He anticipated that new discoveries will help revise his calculations. Unfortunately he was no more in 1907. Had he lived longer he would himself have certainly revised his surmise. Till date, Kielhorn's calculations are religiously followed inspite of his caution and warning.

Later discoveries of inscriptions did not agree with the initial year March, 1163 A.D. Scholars tried to overcome the problem by correcting at random the regnal years or the astronomical data of the records on the assumption that the records were wrong

1 Kielhorn, *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 261, para 1.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 207 in continuation from page 274 of *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 211.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 213.

in quoting the relevant data.[1] But nothing could be done in the case of those records which quoted Cyclic or Śaka years and which indicated that the accession took place in 1166 A.D. Scholars explained away this anomaly by stating that two sets of dates are found in the inscriptions, one counting some date in March, 1163 A.D. as the initial year and the other counting some date in the middle of 1166 A.D. as the starting point.[2] It was surmised that Rājādhirāja II was installed as heir-apparent in March, 1163 A.D. and on the fourth annual asterism of his installation i.e., in the middle of 1166 A.D. he was anointed king. Scholars came to this conclusion by filling up certain gaps (in which, however, there is not enough room for the letters suggested by them) in the much damaged Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai record[3] of Rājādhirāja II. I studied the inscription *in situ.*[4] I found that the Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai record does not state that Rājādhirāja II was anointed on the fourth annual asterism of his installation.

Lines 11 and 12 of the record are damaged. The available portion states that Rājarāja II followed the precedence and crowned Rājādhirāja *(muṉṉāḷilē kāriyam irundapaḍi* i.e., in accordance with the practice of the earlier days). The precedence in question was the accession of Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1122 A.D.), son of Ammaṅgā, the sister of Vīra-Rājēndra (1063-70). It means that Rājarāja II crowned his sister's son Rājādhirāja. Again the record states that Rājādhirāja was crowned in "....*ti nālām tirunakshattiram*" (line 12). It means that he was crowned at the age of [1?] 4. *Tirunakshattiram* means 'age' and this is evident from line 7 of the Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai record and also from the record of the Ceylon king Vijayabāhu.[5] Line 11 of the Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai record states that Rājādhirāja was one of the *piḷḷais* (boys i.e., princes) brought from Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram. The proper age for a *piḷḷai* (boy or prince) to ascend the throne is fourteen. On this basis I surmised that Rājādhirāja ascended the throne at the age of [1] 4. However it may be, the record merely informs us of the age of

---

1 There are many cases. See, for example, *above*, Vol. X, p. 127; Vol. XI, p. 123; *A.R.Ep.*, 1914, p. 59; 1918, p. 110; 1921-22, p. 84; 1926-27, p. 62; and 1927-28, p. 45.

2 Above, Vol. XXII, p. 86 and Vol. XXXI, p. 271.

3 433/1924. This is discussed in above, Vol. XXI, pp. 184-93 and Vol. XXXI, pp. 223-28.

4 I have discussed it in detail in my books "Aruḷuḍaich Chōḷa Maṇḍalam" (Tamil) and "The Chōḷas-Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology".

5 *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, 1396. The record equates the 55th regnal year to the age 73 of Vijayabāhu.

Rājādhirāja II at the time of his anointment and does not convey two initial dates[1] for him. So Rājādhirāja II's regnal years are to be counted from only one date which needs to be fixed.

I had elsewhere[2] surmised that Rājādhirāja II came to the throne between the 5th and the 8th January, 1166. When I did further research, I was convinced that my previous calculations needed revision for the following reasons:

1 In making my previous calculations, I had consulted L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Volume I, part 1. While doing so I had committed some mistakes. Later I consulted L.D. Swamikkannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* ready reckoner and rectified those mistakes.

2 I had relied on the Tiruppāchchūr inscription (134/1930). Later I found that this is an unreliable record.[3]

I, therefore, visited various temples, read the inscriptions at the respective sites, and consulted many impressions in the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore. Shri K. G.Krishnan, the then Chief Epigraphist helped me in deciphering the symbols for regnal years in some of the 12th century records. The regnal years in certain records of Rājādhirāja II are engraved in elliptic circles. I deciphered them also with the help of Shri K.G. Krishnan. In the result I found that Rājādhirāja II came to the throne six months later in June/July, 1166 and not January, 1166 as had been surmised by me earlier. In the light of these observations let us reexamine the dates of the records of Rājādhirāja II.

---

1 Incidentally, above, Vol. XXXI, p. 271 cites the Puṅgaṉūr record (209/1932) of Rājādhirāja. The record quotes the regnal year in a peculiar manner as *padinālāvadāna paṉṉiraṇḍāvadu.* Scholars interpreted this as the 12th year which is the same as the 14th year and surmised that the 14th year, counted from March, 1163, is the same as the 12th year counted from the middle of 1166. It is not so. The 14th year counted from March, 1163 ends in March, 1177 which does not fall in the middle of 1177; the beginning of the 12th year is counted from the middle of 1166. Further there are no two initial dates for Rājādhirāja I. surmised that Rājādhirāja came to the throne in 1166. The regnal year in the Puṅgaṉūr record is to be understood as 12th past 14th i.e., 26th year corresponding to 1192. Probably Rājādhirāja, who retired to Āndhra in 1181, came to the Puṅgaṉūr area to help Kulōttuṅga III in the latter's campaign against the Telugu-Chōḍas. This surmise is based on Kulōttuṅga's Rāmagiri record (*S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 688, year 15, corresponding to 1192-93 A.D.). In this record Kulōttuṅga adopts the titles *Vīra-Rākshasa, Kāñchīpura-paramēśvara* and *Vīra-Nuḷamba.* Perhaps he adopted these titles after defeating the Telugu-Chōḍa chieftain *Bhujabalavīra-Nallasiddhamādēva Chōḷa-Mahārāja* who, in the Kannaḍa record (483/1906) dated 1192 A.D. boasts of having collected tributes from Kāñchīpuram.

2 *The Chōḷas-Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology*, 1977, p. 111.

3 This inscription quotes Śaka 1095 and regnal year 9 which do not agree with the dates of his other records (See, above, Table V).

Rājādhirāja ruled in Tamil Nadu upto his 15th regnal year as we shall show below. In his 15th year he retired to Āndhra, lived there for a long time and died in 1215. Some of his Āndhra records contain Śaka years and they are tabulated below:

Rājādhirāja II – Andhra records

Table IV

S.I.I. IV	Regnal Year	Śaka Year	A.D.
1074	16	....	.....
1223	28	1115	1193-94
1331	28	1116	1194-95
1332	29	1117	1195-96
1218	30	1118	1996-97
1002	31	1119	1197-98
1279	35	1123	1201-02
1257	40	1127	1205-06
1117	46	1134	1212-13
1118	47	1134	1212-13
1330	49	1137	1215-16

1 According to Nos. 1223 and 1331, the 28th year falls both in Śaka 1115 and Śaka 1116. Therefore Śaka 1088 = 1st year and Śaka 1088 also = 0th year. It means that his accession took place some time in the middle of Śaka 1088.

2 As per Nos. 1117 and 1118 the regnal year 46 changed over to 47 in Śaka year 1134. Similarly, the 0th regnal year in Śaka 1088. It further means that the king ascended the throne sometime in the middle of Śaka 1088.

Śaka 1088 covers the period from 25th March, 1166 A.D. to 24th March, 1167 A.D. Rājādhirāja II ascended the throne on some day between these two dates. This is also confirmed by his Nandalūr record[1] of regnal year 12, Cyclic year Hēmalamba, Makara, śu. 1, star Aviṭṭam, Saturday which regularly correspond to 21st January, 1178 A.D.

12th year = 21.1.1178
0th year = 21.1.1166
1st year = 21.1.1167

1 571/1907; above, Vol. X, p. 127. Sewell suggested correcting the regnal year 12 as 15. This is not convincing. Also see *S.I.I*, Vol. XXIII. No. 571. The report equates the 12th year to 1175 and equates the data which contain the cyclic year to 21st January, 1178. The 12th year also must be equated only to 1178.

So Rājādhirāja II came to the throne prior to 21st January, 1167 A.D. In other words his accession date falls between the 25th March, 1166 A.D. and the 21st January, 1167 A.D.

The Nandalūr record provides the vital clue in relation to his Andhra records. The regnal year in the Nandalūr record is 12 only. Robert Sewell suggested correcting the regnal year 12 to 15. Had Sewell proceeded on the basis of the quoted regnal year 12, instead of correcting it as 15, he would have correctly arrived at the accession year as 1166 A.D. Why did he suggest the correction ? Sewell relied on Kielhorn's surmise of 1163 A.D. as the accession year of Rājādhirāja II. Jacobi too relied on Kielhorn's surmise.[1]

As a result everybody accepted 1163 A.D. as the accession date of Rājādhirāja. But, when certain records did not agree with 1163 A.D., scholars suggested correcting the regnal years and the data in those records. These corrections are not at all required. The details of date of Rājādhirāja's records are in agreement with the middle of 1166 A.D. as the starting point for his reign. I furnish below 31 records of Rājādhirāja in which the details of date show such agreement:

Records of Rājādhirāja II

Table V[2]

Record No.		Village	Regnal year and details of Date	A.D.
1	538/1904	Tiruvārūr	2, Mēhsa, śu. 6, Punarvasu, Monday	15th April, 1168
2	241/1927	Kōṭṭaiyūr	3, Ṛishaba, śu. 5, Pushya, Saturday	3rd May, 1169
3	421/1912	Vaḻuvūr	5, Karkaṭaka, śu. 13, Saturday	27th June, 1170
4	19/1913	Āduturai	5, Tulā 15, Viśākhā, Monday	12th October, 1170
5	69/1931	Pandanallūr	5, Tulā, śu. 9, Aviṭṭam, Monday	19th October, 1170
5	607/1902	Munniyūr	6, Dhanus, śu. 5, Śravaṇa, Thursday	2nd December, 1171

1 Above, Vol. XI, p. 123; 172/1908.

2 The table contains the records consulted by Kielhorn. The data of those records agree with the initial year 1166 A.D. The table proves that there are no two initial dates for Rājādhirāja II. Corrections in the dates of the records are not required. In the above table I have not included records in which the details of date given are either irregular or imperfect.

Table V – contd.

	Record No.	Village	Regnal year and details of Date	A.D. Date
7	172/1908	Tirunaraiyūr[1]	6, Mīna, śu. 6, Rōhīnī, Thursday	2nd March, 1172
8	224/1917	Korukkai	6, Mithuna, śu. 3, Punarvasu, Saturday	17th May, 1172
9	311/1921	Tirukkōyilūr	7, Kaṉṉi 25, Svāti, Thursday	21st September, 1172
10	627/1902	Tiruvalañjuḻi	8, Simha, ba. 12, Punarvasu, Monday	6th August, 1173
11	158/1932	Tiruppurambiyam[2]	8, Virchika 24, śu. Bharaṇi, Monday	19th November, 1173
12	122/1928	Ayyampēṭṭai	8, Dhanus, ba. 12, Viśākhā, Monday	3rd December, 1173
13	343/1921	Tirukkōyilūr	8, Māśi 26, Pūram, Monday	18th February, 1174
14	619/1902	Tiruvalañjuḻi	9, Kumbha, śu. 9, Rōhiṇī, Saturday	1st February, 1175
15.	403/1896	Tiruvoṟṟiyūr	9, Paṅguṇi, śu. 11, Āyilyam, Wednesday	5th March, 1175
16	340/1921	Tirukkōyilūr	10, Simha, śu. 1, Pūram, Monday	18th August, 1175
17	134/1936	Teṟkukkāḍu	10, Virchika, śu. 2, Mūla, Monday	17th November, 1175
18	251/1951	Tirukkuvaḷai	10, Makara, śu.12, Rōhiṇī, Friday	26th December, 1175
19	540/1904	Tiruvārūr	10, Mīna, śu.13, Maghā, Tuesday	24th February, 1176
20	394/1902	Tirunaḷḷār	11, Simha, śu.5, Svāti, Wednesday	11th August, 1176
21	428/1912	Vaḻuvūr	12, Simha, ba. 8, Rōhiṇī, Thursday	18th August, 1177
22	603/1963	Tiruvāymūr	12, Makara, ba. 11, Mūlam, Monday	16th January, 1178

1 See foot note 1 in p. 92 above.

2 The *Report* states that the regnal year in 158/1932 is Ten in words. I visited the temple and verified the inscription. The regnal year is eight and it is in words.

Table V – concld.

Record No.	Village	Regnal year and details of Date	A.D.
23 571/1907	Nandalūr	12, Hēmalamba Makara, śu. 1, Aviṭṭam, Saturday	21st January, 1178
24 132/19127	Āttūr	12, Kumbha, śu. 13, Pūśam, Thursday	2nd February, 1178
25 451/1912	Kōṭṭūr	13, Karkaṭaka, śu. 7, Svāti, Saturday	22nd July, 1178
26 80/1913	Tiruchcheṅgāṭṭaṅkuḍi	13, Simha, ba. 9, Wednesday	9th August, 1178
27 389/1921	Tiruvadi[1]	13, Vṛchika 20, Śravaṇa, Thursday	16th November, 1178
28 133/1927	Āttūr	13, Makara, ba. 10, Viśākhā, Thursday	4th January, 1179
29 537/1921	Niḍūr	14, Vṛchika, śu. 13, Aśvati, Tuesday	13th November,1179
30 188/1925	Kidāraṅkondān[2]	14, Dhanus, śu. 15, Ārdrā, Thursday	15th December, 1179
31 11/1925	Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai	15, Mithuna, ba. 10, Aśvati, Monday	8th June, 1181

The above table reveals that Rājādhirāja II ascended the throne sometime in the middle of 1166 A.D. On the basis of record No. 11/1925, Aśvati in Mithuna of 1181 A.D. falls in the 15th year. Accordingly Aśvati in Mithuna of 1166 A.D. falls in the 0th year. The star was current on 23rd June, 1166 A.D.

On the basis of 451/1912, Svāti in Karkaṭaka of 1178 A.D. falls in the 13th year. Accordingly Svāti in Karkaṭaka of 1166 A.D. falls in the first year. The star was current on 6th July, 1166 A.D.

23rd June, 1166 = 0th year
6th July, 1166 = 1st year

1 The *Report* states that the regnal year in 389/1921 is [16]. I verified the inscription on the temple wall. The regnal year reads [1]3.

2 The reading is *śukla pañchadaśi* and not *śukla pañchami* as reported in 188/1925. I studied the inscription at the site.

Therefore, *Rājakēśarivarman* Rājādhirāja-Chōḷa II came to the throne between 24th June and 6th July, 1166 A.D. His Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai record is in his 15th year and it belongs to 1181 A.D. His 16th year record appears in Āndhra. It is evident that Rājādhirāja II ruled for 14 full years. In his 15th year i.e., after June, 1181 A.D. he retired to Āndhra where he lived upto 1215 A.D.

Parakēśarivarmaṉ Kulōttuṅga III came to the throne[1] in July, 1178 A.D. His records[2] are available upto year 40. His rule extended upto 1218 A.D. The accession and the termination dates of Rājarāja II, Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅga III are tabulated below:

Table VI

King	Accession (A.D.)	Last year (A.D.)
Rājarāja II	June-July, 1146	July, 1173
Rājādhirāja II	June-July, 1166	Upto June 1181 in Tamil Nadu; From 1182 to 1215 in Andhra
Kulōttuṅga III	July, 1178	1218

The above table reveals that Rājādharāja II crowned Kulōttuṅga in 1178 and that both ruled jointly for three years.

The Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai record (433/1924) of Rājādhirāja II is in his eighth year corresponding to 1174 A.D. The record states the circumstances under which Rājādhirāja became the Chōḷa king. In some places the record is damaged. Earlier scholars filled up the gaps and interpreted the record.[3] But their interpretations do not agree with the dates of the three Chōḷa kings. When I studied the inscription at the site I found that the earlier scholars filled up the gaps with certain letters for which there was not enough room in the gaps. So I came to the conclusion that the earlier inter-

1 Kielhorn, Above, Vol. IX, p. 220.

2 Kulōttuṅga's records 489/1912, 273/1914 and 162/1926 are in year forty.

3 Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 184-93; and, *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 223-28.

pretations needed revision. I applied the dates of the three kings and interpreted the record without prejudice to these dates. I surmised as follows:[1]

1 The Chōḷa family faced certain dangers in the sixth and seventh decades of the 12th century. The Chief Minister Perumāṉ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar held the two sons of Rājarāja II under his protection in the well-guarded Rājarājapuram palace. At that time the sons were one and two years old.[2] This happened a few years before 1166 A.D.

2 Pallavarāyar removed the dangers. This may have taken a few years. When everything settled down and peace returned, Rājarāja II was pleased to be present in the Rājarājapuram palace. Probably he was sick at that time and hence wanted to appoint his heir-apparent. Since his sons were mere young boys not fit for anointment, Rājarāja II consulted his Chief Minister Perumāṉ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar who advised the king to follow the precedence set up in the earlier days.

The accession of Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1122 A.D.) was the precedence available to Rājarāja II. Vīra-Rājēndra ruled from 1063 to 1070 A.D. In 1070 he fell sick.

---

1 The approach in the interpretation of 433/1924 is important. Venkatasubba Ayyar considered (Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 184-93) that 1163 A.D. was the accession date of Rājādhirāja II. He filled up three gaps and surmised that Rājarāja II was no more in 1163 A.D. But records of Rājarāja II prove that he lived upto 1173 A.D. So Ayyar said that those records were probably issued in the name of the dead king Rājarāja II. But the editor had then observed that the resulting confusion could possibly be cleared by future discoveries (see, *Ibid.*, p. 186, foot note 1, and p. 185, foot note 4). Ayyar settled the last year of Rājarāja II as 1163 A.D. by filling up the gaps of the damaged record. On the other hand, Nilakanta Sastri conceded the historical relevance of the post - 1163 A.D. inscriptions of Rājarāja II, running upto 1173 A.D. But he assumed two initial dates for Rājādhirāja II, namely his installation in 1163 A.D. and his anointment in 1166 A.D. He too filled up the gaps in 433/1924 and arrived at a different conjecture that, just as Kulōttuṅga II was not the actual son of Vikrama-Chōḷa but was only an adopted one, so also Rājādhirāja, an otherwise unknown prince, was an adopted son of Rājarāja II. Lithic records, copper plate inscriptions and Tamil poems lead to the conclusion that Kulōttuṅga II was the actual son of Vikrama-Chōḷa and hence, Sastri's surmise, based on his own filling up of the gaps in 433/1924, is not free from doubt. There is no harm in attempting to restore lost letters and phrases of damaged inscriptions provided such attempts do not set at naught the purport and intent of cognate inscriptions. If care is not adopted while making such attempts, there is the danger of wrong restorations receiving acceptance and cognate records containing information to the contrary, though genuine, being dubbed as false. In this connection attention may be drawn to an inscription (Pd. 221) from Kuḍumiyāmalai. It is a later copy of an early record. But the 13th century scribe, while re-engraving the text of the earlier record, explicitly states that twenty letters are missing in the first gap and seven in the second. It redounds to his credit that he has not tried to restore those lost letters, a constraint worthy of emulation by epigraphists and historians.

2 However, there is a lacuna in line 7 of 433/1924. It implies that when *Periyadēvar* Rājarāja (II) died, his sons were one and two years old and they were brought up in the Rājarājapuram palace. The record

His son Adhirājēndra (1068-1071 A.D.) was also sick. Besides, Adhirājēndra had no sons. So Vīra-Rājēndra crowned his sister's son Kulōttuṅga. This happened in June, 1070 A.D. Vīra-Rājēndra died in August of the same year. Adhirājēndra died in the middle of 1071 A.D. Kulōttuṅga who was already made crown-prince became the Chōḷa monarch.[1]

Rājarāja followed the above precedence.[2] He crowned Edirilipperumāḷ, son of Neriyuḍaipperumā and [great]-grandson of Vikrama-Chōḷa. Neriyuḍaipperumā was the sister of Rājarāja II. Edirili was called Rājādhirāja II and he was crowned in June/July, 1166 A.D., probably at the age of fourteen.

---

proceeds further and states that since the sons were not of proper age Rājādhirāja was crowned. Records prove that Rājarāja II ruled upto 1173 A.D. Rājādhirāja II was crowned in 1166 A.D. It is evident that Rājarāja did not die before 1166 A.D., the accession date of Rājādhirāja. Line 7 of the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai record is incorrect. The date of the record falls in 1174 A.D. As far as the record is concerned Rājarāja was no more. The intention of the composer was to refer to Rājarāja as *"late Periyadēva Rājarāja"*. Instead, he engraved the passage in a wrong manner. The phrase in line 7 of the record reads *Periyadēvar tuñji aruḷippiḷ-ḷaigaḷukku onrum irandum tirunakshattiram-āgaiyāl"*. It means that "Periyadēvar (Rājarāja II) died and his sons were one and two years old". It is the mistake of the engraver. It should read *"tuñji aruḷiya Periya-dēvar piḷḷaigaḷukku onrum irandum tirunakshattiram-āgaiyāl"* to mean "the sons of late Rājarāja were one and two years old". In 1174 A.D. Rājarāja was no more and the record should address him as "late king". The error in the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai record, dated in 1174 A.D., is to be set right with the help of the earlier records of Rājarāja II.

We come across such kind of mistakes in certain earlier Chōḷa records also. Parāntaka I ruled from 907 to 954 A.D. His son Rājāditya was killed in the Takkōlam battle in 949. But Rājarāja I's Leyden grant, issued in the reign of his son Rājēndra (Acc. 1012 A.D.) states that Rājāditya ruled after the demise of Parāntaka. This statement is contrary to earlier stone records. This is pointed out by K.V.Subrahmanya Ayyar, above, Vol. XIX, pp. 82-83 and Ibid., Vol. XXII, p. 219.

Sundara-Chōḷa ruled from 957 to 974 A.D. His first son was Āditya, and the second son, Rājarāja I. Āditya was murdered in 965 in the lifetime of his father Sundara-Chōḷa. But Rājēndra's Tiruvālangāḍu plates, dated in 1017 A.D., state that Āditya ruled after the death of Sundara. This is contrary to earlier stone records. See, *S.I.I*, Vol. III, pp. 419 and 420 and also *The EarlyChōḷas-Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology*, p. 124.

When a later record is incorrect the error is to be identified and rectified with the aid of earlier records. The above three are such examples. An error found in a single record of later date cannot make scores of earlier records null and void.

1 Vide the chapter "Accession of Kulōthuṅga I" in *The Chōḷas-Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology*.

2 See, above, Vol. XXXI, p. 224, foot note 2. Sastri was at first inclined to consider the accession of Kulōttuṅga I as the precedence but he later rejected it since in his view Kulōttuṅga was an usurper. We must remember here that Kulōttuṅga I died in 1122 A.D. Rājarāja II came to the throne in 1146 A.D. It was Rājarāja, who and not his great-grandfather Kulōttuṅga could be an usurper. The Tamil poem *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and the revised dates of Chōla kings confirm that Kulōttuṅga I came to the throne by right. See, above, p. 96 and foot note 1.

3 The Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai record proceeds further to describe in detail the success of Perumān-Nambi-Pallavarāyar in the Pāṇḍyan civil war about which we are not concerned here. Finally the record states that Perumān-Nambi-Pallavarāyar died of some disease. His death occurred after the demise of Rājarāja II.

It has been suggested above that Rājarāja died in the third quarter of 1173 A.D. and Perumān-Nambi-Pallavarāyar died early in the next year. In the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai record of June, 1174 A.D. Rājādhirāja II speaks about the sons of late Rājarāja II and also the circumstances under which he became the king. Unless the sons were alive in 1174 A.D. there was no need for Rājādhirāja to mention them. Thus we can infer that in 1174 A.D. when Rājarāja was no more his sons would have been young princes.

Rājādhirāja states that a few years prior to 1166 A.D., Rājarāja's sons were one and two years old. Contrary to the general practice he mentions the second son in the first place and the first son in the second place and he does so in 1174 A.D. when the sons of late Rājarāja were young princes. After four years i.e. in 1178 A.D. he crowns Kulōttuṅga III. The sequence indicates that one of the two sons of Rājarāja II was Kulōtuṅga[1] and more probably the second son. This is also confirmed by the Tamil poem *Śaṅkara-Śōlan Ula.*[2]

Between 1173 and 1178 A.D. Rājādhirāja II ruled as monarch and late Rājarāja's sons were still young in age. Rājādhirāja ruled in the capacity of a guardian for the two sons. He crowned Kulōttuṅga in 1178 A.D. Both of them ruled jointly for three years. In 1181 Rājādhirāja retired to Āndhra and Kulōttuṅga continued his reign. It is against this background that we have to study the poem *Śaṅkara-Śōlan Ulā* (whose author is not known).

Verses 15 to 26 of the *Ulā* describe the Chōḷa kings who had gone to the heavens. They were namely Vijayālaya, Parāntaka I, Rājarāja I, Rājēndra I, Rājādhirāja I, Rājēndra II, Rājamahēndra, Vīra-Rājēndra, Kulōttuṅga I, Vikrama-Chōḷa, Kulōttuṅga II and Rājarāja II.

Verse 30 equates Śaṅkaman to Rājarāja II who was no more. The invocatory stanza *(kāppu)* states[3] that Śaṅkaman made Śaṅkararāja the Chōḷa king. Verse 38 states that Śaṅkararāja is the hero of the poem. Śaṅkararāja was ruling from Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram. These references indicate that the hero of the poem is Rājādhirāja II. This is

1 Venkatasubba Ayyar surmises that Kulōttuṅga III was probably the son of Rājarāja II. See, above, Vol.XXI, p. 186. The *praśasti* in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu record (81/1926 of Kulōttuṅga III, year 15) describes him as ". . . . . *tanich-chiṅgam peṟṟa tani-magan kōn*" i.e., Kulōttuṅga the unique son of the reputed *Śiṅgam* (lion). Kulōttuṅga's father Rājarāja II had the surname *Chōlēndra-śiṅga* (336/1917 and 17/1908).

2 *Śaṅkara-Rājēndra-Śōlan Ulā* (misnomer for *Śaṅkara-Śōlan Ulā*) published by U.V. Swaminatha Iyer Library, Tiruvanmiyur, Madras.

3 *Śaṅkaman tanda Tamiḻ Śaṅkara-śōlan.*

also confirmed by verse 389 which states that the ancestors of the hero Śaṅkararāja were praised in the (Tamil) poems *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and *Mūvar Ulā*[1] (three *Ulās*) a clear indication that Rājādhirāja is the hero of the poem *Śaṅkara-Śōḻaṉ Ulā* according to which,

1 In accordance with the earlier prayers of [late] Śaṅkamaṉ (verse 30),

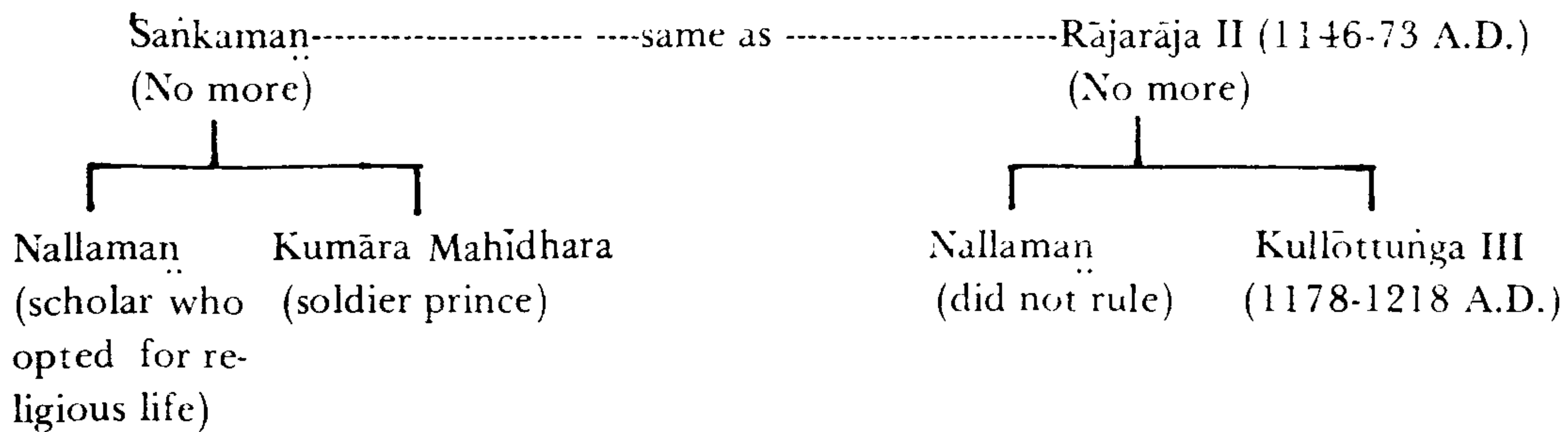
2 In order to dispel the darkness of the world (verse 31),

3 For Nallamaṉ, the *Nāyaka*, who knows all languages and who is a better expert [in the *śāstras*] than even Ādi-Manu (verse 32),

4 And for Kumāra Mahīdhara [the soldier prince] who washed the stain of his sword in the western sea and who made the other kings bow before the fierce tiger [Chōḷa] (verses 36 and 37),

5 Śaṅkararāja, the king of Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram, is the truthful guardian (verse 38).

The above sequence can be interpreted as follows:



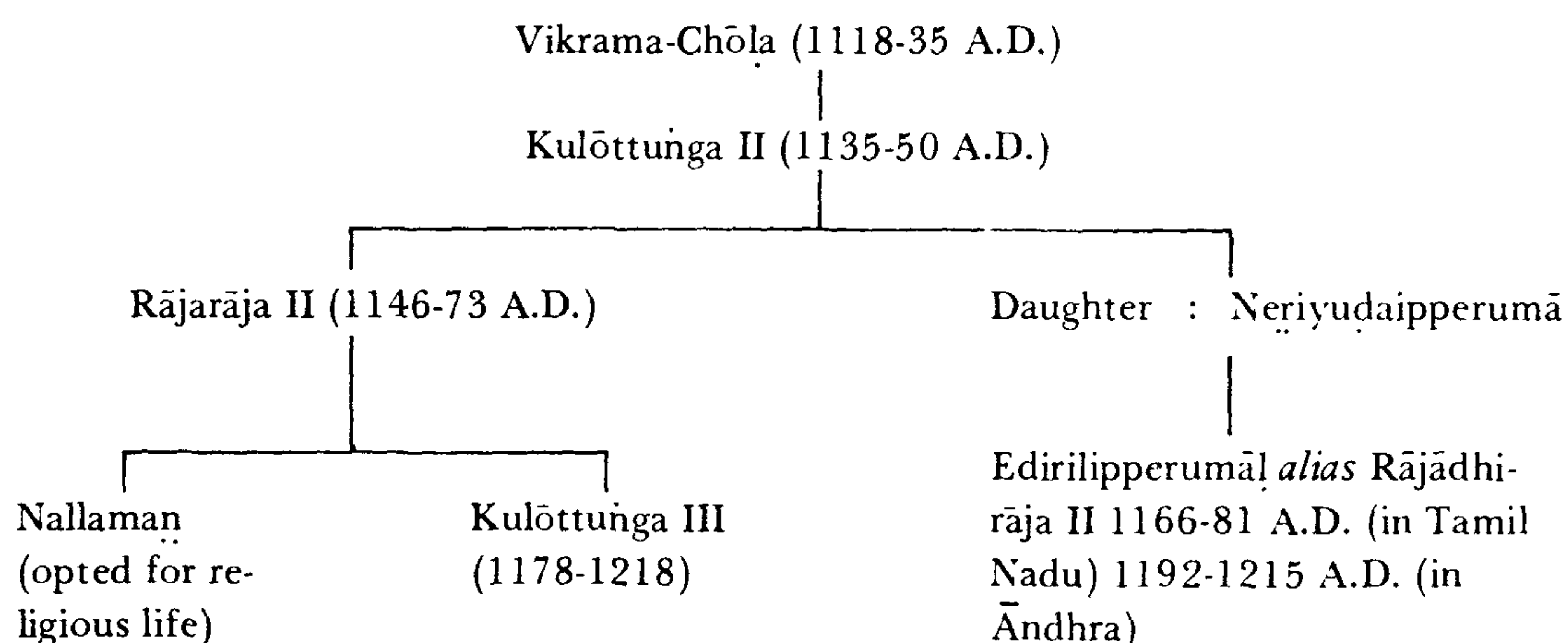
Śaṅkararāja, the truthful guardian of Nallamaṉ and *Kumāra* Mahīdhara,[2] is to be identified as Rājādhirāja II who, between 1173 and 1178 A.D., was the truthful guardian to the two sons of late Rājarāja II.

---

1 Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1122 A.D.) is the hero of the poem *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*. The three *Ulās* are *Vikrama-Śōḻaṉ Ulā*, *Kulōttuṅga-Śōḻaṉ Ulā* and *Rājarāja-Śōḻaṉ Ulā*. They were composed by the poet Oṭṭakkūttar. The heroes of the three *Ulās* are Vikrama-Chōḷa (1118-1135 A.D.), Kulōttuṅga II (1133-50 A.D.) and Rājarāja II (1146-73 A.D.) respectively.

2 Kulōttuṅga III is the hero of the Tamil poem *Kulōttuṅga-Śōḻaṉ Kōvai*. The poem states that Kulōttuṅga was the son of king Śaṅkama (*Śaṅkamarāśa-Kulōttuṅgaṉ*). The poem also states that Śaṅkara was the predecessor of Kulōttuṅga (*Śaṅkaraṉa muṉṉōṉ Kulōttuṅgaṉ* ...)

In the light of the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription and the poem Śaṅkara-śōḻaṉ Ulā the genealogy of the three kings may be constructed as follows:



Rājādhirāja II was a noble king. In the south, when the Pāṇḍyas were fighting for power, (Pāṇḍyan civil war, 1166 to 1177 A.D.) Rājādhirāja II gave back the Chōḷa kingdom to the legitimate heir, Kulōttuṅga (III). In turn, the Chōḷa country showed its gratitude to Rājādhirāja. *Śaṅkara-Śōḻaṉ Ulā* is a fitting compliment to him. Rājādhirāja retired to Āndhra in 1182 A.D. and lived there upto 1215 A.D. During this period Kulōttuṅga III and Rājādhirāja were on cordial terms. In his third year, Kulōttuṅga dug a tank at Valivalam near Tiruvārūr and called it *Rājādhirājaṉ-peruṅguḷam.*[1] At Ayyampēṭṭai near Tiruvārūr, Kulōttuṅga built a new temple and called it *Rājādhirāja-Īśvaram*[2] in honour of Rājādhirāja. In certain records[3] Kulōttuṅga borrows the *praśasti 'pūmaruviya tiśai mugattōṉ'* which belongs to Rājādhirāja. An inscription from Tiruveṇṇainalūr a sacred Śaiva centre, dated in the 17th year of Kulōttuṅga, states, "After writing fully the sacred *praśasti 'pūmaruviya-tiśai mugattōṉ paḍaitta perum puvi viḷaṅga'* [of Rājādhirāja] - in the 17th year of *Tribhuvanachakravartin* Śrī Kulōttuṅga-chōḷadēva, who took Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,. ."[4] etc.

In 1195 A.D., Kulōttuṅga states, "Prefix the sacred *praśasti* of Rājādhirāja before reading my inscription" – a clear pointer to the cordial nature of the relationship between Kulōttuṅga III and Rājādhirāja II.[5]

---

1 110/1911.

2 117/128.

3 176/1908; 423/1912. In these records Kulōttuṅga III borrows Rājādhirāja's *praśasti* which appears in the Kīḻūr record (*S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 890, Rājādhirāja, year 5; 262/1902). Probably in 1192 A.D. Rājādhirāja helped Kulōttuṅga in the latter's Telugu-Chōḷa campaign.

4 313/1902 (*S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 942), Kulōttuṅga, year 17.

5 *Contra, South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. III, part II, pp. 101, 105 and 127; Above, Vol.XXXI, p. 272; *Piṟkāla Śōḻar Varalāṟu* by Sadasiva Pandarathar (published by Annamalai University, 1974), p. 388.

On the basis of the above chronology and genealogy of the Chōḷa kings let us see the sub-joined Dārāśuram records A and B. Record A was engraved on the 453rd day of the 4th year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II, falling in September, 1170 A.D. The record confirms the grant made to Āḷuḍaiyāṉ and the temple accountant. The royal deed was written by the royal secretary Rājēndraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ. The signatories are Nuḷambādirājar, Vayirāgarājar, Chittrarājar, Chēdirājar and Pallavarājar. The record states that the grant was made at the request of Pallavarāyar who evidently was a more powerful and influential officer than the royal secretary and the signatories. If his is so, then we may not be far wrong if we surmise that Pallavarāyar was probably none other than Perumāṉ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar, the then Chief Minister.

Record B belongs to *Tribhuvanachakravarti Kōnēriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ* and it is dated in his 5th year, 463rd day. The royal deed was written by the royal secretary Rājēndra-śiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ. The signatories are Maḷavarājar, Śiṅgaḷarājar, Vayirāgarājar, Pallavarājar, Chēdirājar, Chittrarājar and Rājēndraśōḷa-Kalappāḷarājar. The record confirms the grants, made in the beginning of the fifth year, to the accountant of the Paḷḷippa-ḍai-Rājagambhīra-Īśvaramuḍaiyār temple (and of five other *paḷḷippaḍai* temples). Evidently it means that in the beginning of the fifth year of *Kōnēriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ* of this record, Rājarāja was no more. *Kōnēriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ* could not be Rājādhirāja II in whose fifth year (1170-71 A.D.) Rājarāja II was alive. *Kōnēriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ* is, therefore, a later king.

The royal secretary Rājēndraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ who figures in record A of Rājādhirāja also figures in record B of *Kōnēriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ*. This royal secretary served under Rājarāja II, Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅga III and figures in the records of all of them.[1]

The signatory Nuḷambādirājar who figures in record A of Rājādhirāja also figures in certain records[2] of Kulōttuṅga III. The signatory Vayirāgarājar of record A figures in record B. He also figures in certain records[3] of Kulōttuṅga III.

Chittrarājar, Chēdirājar and Pallavarājar figure in record A as well as in record B. The last one, Pallavarājar, was probably the same Pallavarājar who, after the demise of Perumāṉ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar, took active role in defeating the Ceylonese and the Pāṇḍyas in the protracted struggle of the Pāṇḍyan civil war.[4] His full name was Vēdavaṉam Uḍaiyāṉ Ammaiyappar *alias* Aṉṉaṉ Pallavarājar and he was a native of Paḷaiyaṉūr situated in Mēṉmaḷai-Ppaḷaiyaṉūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Jayaṅkoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam. He was an army officer and he served under the three kings[5] Rājarāja II, Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅga III.

1 163/1906 of Rājarāja II, year 13; *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 663 of Rājādhirāja II, year 11; Pd. 145 (290/1969) of Kulōttuṅga III, year 8; and 70/1913 of Kulōttuṅga III, year 10.

2 20/1908, year 8; Pd. 145, year 8, *S I I*. Vol. III, 86, year 9, 113 and 120/1928, year 12.

3 433/1924; Above, Vol. XXII, No. 14.

4 433/1924; Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 86-92.

5 32/1906 of Rājarāja, year 18; 433/1924 of Rājādhirāja II, year 8; 465/1905 of Rājādhirāja, year 12; S I.I., Vol. V, No. 989 of Kulōttuṅga III, year 14

Maḷvarājar of record B figures in the records[1] of Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅga III. Similarly Śiṅgaḷarājar of record B also figures in an inscription[2] of Rājādhirāja II.

From the above facts we can safely conclude that *Tribhuvanachakravarti Kōnērin-maikoṇḍān* was the successor of Rājādhirāja II and that he was none other than *Tribhuvanachakravartin* Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III in whose fifth year (1182-83 A.D.) Rājarāja II was no more. One more witness by name Rājēndrachōḷa-Kaḷappāḷarājar figures in record B. This officer borrows the surname Rājēndrachōḷa, the name of his overlord, for Kulōttunga III had another name, i.e., Rājēndra-Chōḷa, as is evident from his inscriptions.[3]

In the result I identify *Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān* of record B as Kulōttuṅga III. The record is dated in the 463rd day of the fifth year falling in, say, October, 1183 A.D.

In his Śēranūr record Kulōttuṅga III states that he gilded the temple dedicated to his father and also the temple of Rājarājīśvaramuḍaiyār. The former was probably the *paḷḷippaḍai* temple of Rājagambhīra-Īśvaramuḍaiyār.[4] The latter is the Dārāśuram temple. A record[5] from this temple, written in the eighth year of Kulōttuṅga III, refers to the grants awarded to the artisans and craftsmen engaged in the gilding operations of the temple.

RECORD A

Inscription of Rājādhirāja II, Year 4

TEXT[6]

1 Svasti Śrī [|*] Kaḍal-śūḻnda-pārmādarum pūmādaruṁ-Kalaimādarum-aḍal-śūḻ..........
.........dal poṟ-pugaḻ-parappa ādi ....

2 muḍipunaind=aruḷi aru-samaiyamuy=aim-būdamum neṟiyil [ninṟu pāri]ppat-Tenna-varuñ-Chēralaruñchi ....navargaḷ ti..........ñdich-chevippa-vūliy=ūliyoru che-[ṅgōl] ....

3 lippach-chempon-virasimhasanattu Ulaguḍai-Mu[kkōkki]lānaḍigaḷ=ōḍum vīṟṟirund-a[ruḷiya Śrī-kōv-Irā]jakēśaripanma[r-āṉa Tiribhuvaṉachchakkaravat]tigaḷ śrī-Rājādhirājadēvarkku [yāṇḍu]

---

1 465/1905, Rājādhirāja, year 12; *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 87, Kulōttuṅga III, year 11; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 306, year 13.

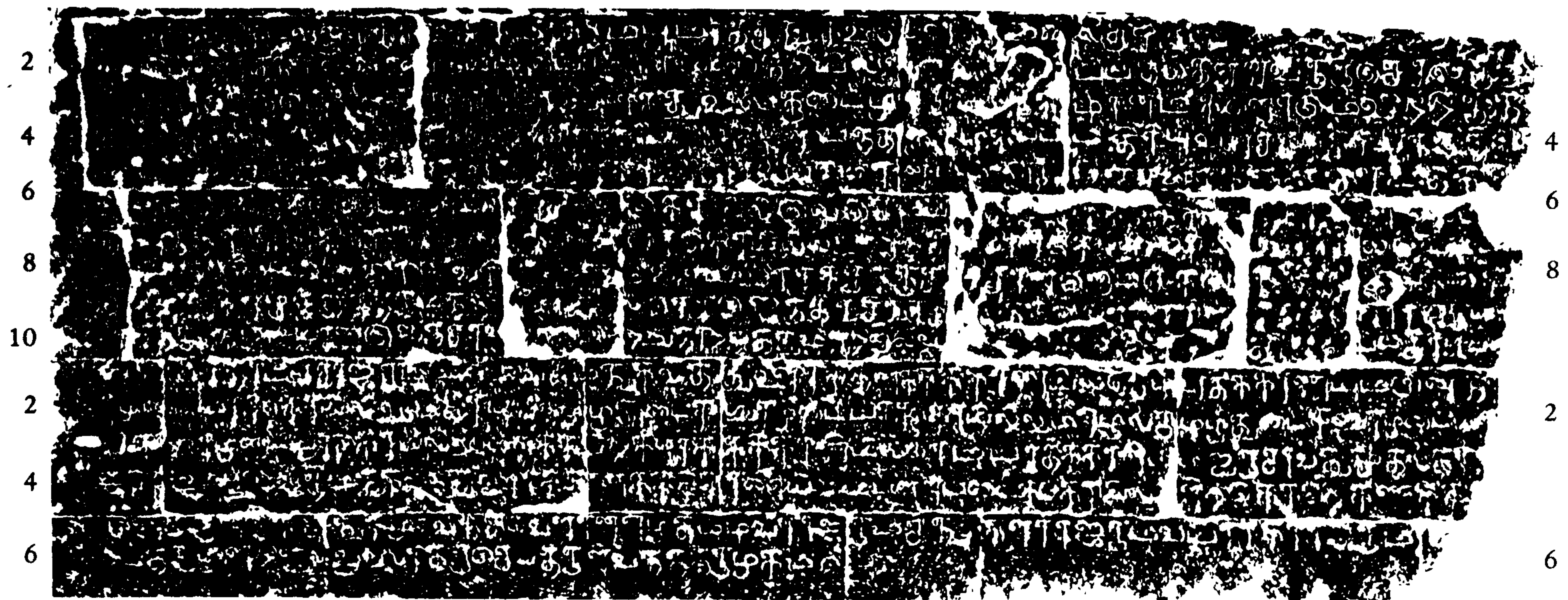
2 433/1924, Rājādhirāja, year 8.

3 168/1908, year 2 and 393/1925, year 5; The officer figures in 123/1928, Kulōttuṅga, year 15.

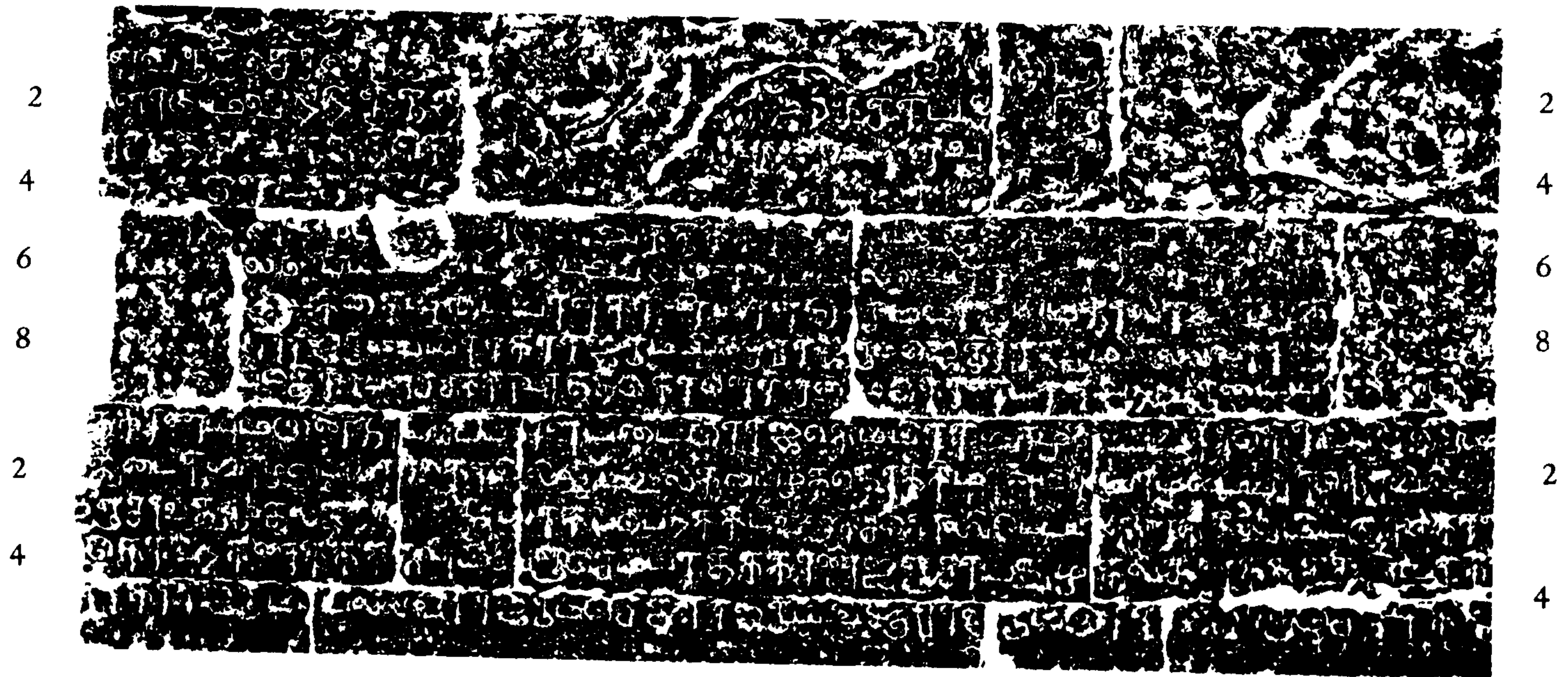
4 Pd. 163 and Pd. 166 .... *"tāraṇikōl tirut-tātaikkum Irājarājīśvarattārkkum kāreṉṉa śiṟanda kōyil aṉitigaḷ poṉmēyndaruḷi".*

5 20/1908, Kulōttuṅga III, year 8, day 64.

6 From the original and from ink impressions.



TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM DĀRĀŚURAM AND THE DATES OF THREE CHŌḶA KINGS – PLATE I



K. V. Ramesh

4 [nā] ....[tiruvāymoḻin] d=aruḷi vanda tirumugappaḍi Tiribhuvanachchakravartti .... Āḷuḍaiyāṉukkup-

5 .... kūttāḍum perumāṉ muṉ kuḍa-mañjaṉai eḻundaruḷivikka ...... ma uḍaiyār .... mayi . kōyiṟkaṉak [kuk-kāṇiyil] ....

6 [nāṉa kūṟu] ... yuḍaiyār ....kōyililē śe...... ṉa Śivaṉukkuk-kāṇiyāy varugira .... n taṅgaḷukkum taṅgal vargattāṟkun-kāṇiyāga

7 tāyuntā .... ikkōyilil .... ka .. 1 veṭṭi [kuḍukka] vēṇum=eṉṟu Pallavarāyar .... yil ippaḍi śeyyak-kaḍavad=āgach-chollak-ka-

8 .... kūṟu śeyvārgaḷukkuch-choṉṉōm ke .... kkaiyuḍaiyāṉ kāṇiyāṉa śempāḍi-yum nālāvadu taṅgaḷukkun-taṅgaḷ vargattāṟkun-kāṇiyāga kaṇa

9 .... eḻudināṉ tirumandira ōlai ·Irājēndiraśiṅga- ·Mūvēndavēḷāṉ [|*] [Nuḷambādi]-rājarum Vayirāgarājarum Chittrarājarum Chēdirājarum Pallavarājarum .... yāṇḍu nālāvadu nāṉūṟṟaimbattu mū ....

RECORD B

Inscription of *Kōnēriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ*, year 5.

TEXT[1]

1 Śrī tirumugam yāṇḍu aiñjāvadu nāṉūṟṟu nāṟpattu mūṉṟiṉāl vu .... ppa tirumuga-ppaḍi tiribhuvanachchakkaravartti Kōnēriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ Āṟṟūr=uḍaiya ... nak-kūttaṉ ....

2 .... nāṭṭu Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalattu ūrkkaṇakkak-kāṇiyil śempāḍi kāṇiyum innāṭṭup-paḷḷippaḍai Rājagembīra-īśvaram-uḍaiyār kōyililum Bhuvanamuḻuḍu-ḍaiyāḷ.......

3 ramm-uḍaiyār kōyililum Tiribhuvaṉamuḻuḍuḍai-īśvaram-uḍaiyār kōyililum Eḻulaga-muḻuḍuḍai-īśvaram-uḍaiyār koyililum Ulaguḍai-Mukkōkkiḻānaḍi-īśvaram-uḍaiyār kōyililum kalveṭṭi............... cheragu ..... tu .....

4 īśvaram-uḍaiyārk-kōyililum kōyiṟ-kaṇakkak-kāṇiyil śempāḍik-kāṇiyum aiñjāvadu mudal tā ..... yāgap-peṟakkaḍavaṉ=āgach-choṉṉapaḍi kaṇakkilum-iṭṭuk-koḷḷakka-ḍavar-āga.... śeyvippad-āgach-choṉṉōm ....

1 From the original and from ink impressions.

5 jarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalattu ūrk-kaṇakkak-kāṇiyilum paḷḷipaḍaik-kōyilgaḷiṟ-kōyiṟ-kaṇakkak-kāṇiyiluñ-chempādik-kāṇi aiñjāvadu mudal kaṇakku-kāṇiyāgak-......... tiru-mandirav=ōlai

6 Irājēndiraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ eḻuda Maḻavarājarum Śingaḷarājarum Vayirāgarājarum Pallavarājarum Chēdirājarum Chittrarājarum Irājēndraśōḻak-Kaḷappāḷarāja .... ttu nāṉūṟṟa-

7 rupattu-mūṉṟināl prasādañ-cheydaruḷivanda tirumugam

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM DĀRĀŚURAM AND THE DATES OF THREE CHŌḶA KINGS – PLATE II



K.V. Ramesh — SCALE : ONE-TWELFTH

NO. 11 – KIṚUMOṚEKŌḶI GRANT OF W. GAṄGA MUSHKARA

(*2 Plates*)

K.V. Ramesh, Mysore

The news of the discovery of this important set of Western Gaṅga copper plate inscription was first brought to my notice by Shri Sitaram Jagirdar of the Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore, Mysore. A few weeks later, through the good offices of Dr. B.R. Gopal, Reader in South Indian Studies, Mysore University and well-known epigraphist, the set was brought to me for study and copying by its present owner, Shri G.A. Sivalingayya, Lecturer, Marimallappa Junior College, Mysore. I am thankful to all these gentlemen, and in particular, to Shri Sivalingayya, for their gesture.

The set consists of five rectangular copper plates, each measuring 19.6 x 6 cms. In the left centre of each plate, about 2 cms. away from the edge, is a round hole, 1 cm. in diametre, for the ring to pass through. The five plates together weigh 500 gms. The two ends of the ring, which is about 2.5 cms. thick, are soldered to the bottom of an oval-shaped seal, measuring 3.5 cms at its widest points. The countersunk surface of the seal bears the figure of an elephant in relief, standing facing right. The seal and ring together weigh 140 gms. The rims of the plates are raised in order to protect the deeply engraved writing. The writing is well preserved but for some slight damage suffered by some letters along the edges owing to chemical reaction.

Of the five plates of the set, the first and last bear writing only on the inner sides while the three middle plates are engraved on both sides. There are in all 48 lines of writing, there being six lines on each of the written up sides.

The **characters** employed in the charter are what may be considered as the **Southern alphabet** palaeographically assignable to the beginnings of the 7th century A.D. The **palaeographical** features exhibited by our record are regular for the dynasty, period and region in question. As regards **orthography**, it may be pointed out that while the consonant immediately following *rēpha* is uniformly doubled, there are three interesting exceptions in which such doubling is omitted in writing the name Kṛishṇavarma (line 17) in °*ōpārjita* (line 22), and *samāvarjita* (line 26); similarly, while in most cases, class nasals are employed, instances where they are replaced by *anusvāra* are not wanting, as, for instance, in °*āṁgasya* (line 13), *paṁk-āvasanna* (line 15) and *Kadaṁba* (line 17). The **language** is **Sanskrit** and, but for six imprecatory verses towards the end, the entire text is in prose.

The object of the charter is to register the grant, made by the Western Gaṅga king **Pṛithivī-Koṅganirāja** *alias* **Mushkara**, of the village of **Kiṛumoṛekōḷi** to the brāhmaṇa **Kumba-śarman** on an auspicious day in the month of Vaiśākha.

The charter commences with the auspicious word *svasti* (line 1) followed by the salutation to the god Padmanābha (line 1), an usual feature of Western Gaṅga charters.

This is followed by the formalised genealogical *praśasti* of the Western Gaṅga dynasty (lines 1-32) in which the eulogistic accounts concerning the kings from Koṅgaṇivarma, the progenitor, upto Durvinīta, the father of the reigning king, are given in much the same fashion as in some other already known Western Gaṅga charters. For instance, the *praśasti* in lines 1-32 of our charter is *verbatim* the same as the *praśasti* as found in lines 1-27 of the Uttanūr plates of Durvinīta, issued in the 20th year of his reign.[1]

Lines 32-38 contain the eulogy of Mushkara, the issuer of the charter. According to the first passage (lines 32-33) he was born of the daughter of the 'Lord of the earth' *(Vasumatīndra)* who belonged to the lineage of the illustrious Dagdhacharaṇa, the ornament of the great *kshatriya* family of Chōḷas, and master of Uragapura. The next passage (lines 33-35), which is purely conventional, states that the feet of Mushkara were tinged with the pollen from the floral filets of vanquished and bowing enemy kings. The third passage (lines 35-36), which is also purely conventional, states that the physique of Mushkara was the target of the arrow-like looks of beautiful damsels who were a source of despair to the god of love. Line 36 gives his name as Pṛithivī-Koṅgaṇi-rāja and states that he was well known by his second name Mushkara and that he was righteous. He had seen the ultimate in all education (line 37) and was a specialist-expert in the science of policy (line 37). His eulogy ends with an appreciative exclamation that he was the very foundation of all excellence (lines 37-38).

The grant portion, in lines 38-41, states that the king made a grant, in the presence of all the great men *(mahāmanushya)*[2] and with all exemptions, the village of Kiṟu-moṟekōḷi on the southern bank of (the river) Kappuni, to the brāhmaṇa Kumba-śarman belonging to Taittirīya-charaṇa, Prāvachana-kalpa and Kāśyapa-gōtra.[3] The grant was made in the month of Vaiśākha when the date *(tithi)*, the time of day *(muhūrtta)*, the star *(nakshatra)* and the week-day were all propitious.

Lines 41-46 contain five of the usual imprecatory verses attributed here to Manu. The charter was written by Koṅgaṇi-perndaṭṭāra of the lineage of Kūn-āchāryya (lines 46-47). The record ends with the statement that a good piece of land, of the extent of being sown with twelve *khaṇḍukas* of seeds, was granted, in accordance with the *brahmadēya* system, to the writer.

The primary importance of this charter lies in the fact that this is the only epigraphical record of Mushkara that has so far come to light. Our knowledge of Mushkara and his reign is limited to a couple of conventional eulogistic statements contained in formalised Western Gaṅga *praśasti* according to which many vanquished enemy kings

---

1 *Mys.Arch.Rep.,* 1916, pp. 35-37 and plate opp. p. 36. The only difference is that the eulogistic phrases concerning Durvinīta end in the instrumental case in the Uttanūr plates because he was the issuer of the charter whereas in the present charter they end in the possessive case.

2 This expression may be a variant, if not fore-runner of *mahājana* of numerous inscriptions.

3 The *gōtra* is mentioned a little later, in line 39 instead of in line 38, almost as an afterthought.

bowed at his feet and a certain Sindhurāja had given his daughter in marriage to him. We also know that he had succeeded his father Durvinīta on the Western Gaṅga throne, that he had a brother by name Polavīra who had also reigned as king and that the regular line of succession to that throne was retained by Mushkara's direct descendants, including Śrīvikrama, his son born of the daughter of Sindhurāja. To this meagre knowledge on Mushkara our charter adds the important information that he was born of the daughter of a Chōḷa king who belonged to the lineage of Dagdhacharaṇa, the lord of Uragapura.

Dagdhacharaṇa is but the Sanskritised form of Karikāla by which causal name the most famous and, in the absence of a contemporaneous epigraphical support, semi-historical if not mythical Chōḷa ancestor was known. Uragapura of which, according to our charter, Dagdhacharaṇa and his Chōḷa descendants were lords, is the same as modern Uṟaiyūr, a suburb of Tiruchchirāpaḷḷi, on the banks of the Kāvērī in Tamilnāḍu which was one of the capital cities of the Chōḷas. Durvinīta, who reigned in the second half of the 6th century, and Mushkara, who must have sat on the Western Gaṅga throne in the first quarter of the seventh century, lived at a time when the Tamil country was under Pallava domination and the ancient Chōḷas had been relegated to a state of historical eclipse. This resulted in the Chōḷas lying low in their ancestral home, and in some of them fanning out and establishing minor principalities elsewhere, but always adverting to their glorious descent. As Nilakanta Sastri points out "The dispersion, the poor and dispossessed among them going out in quest of fortune, is attested by the occurrence of names of princes and chieftains claiming Chōḷa connections in places as far removed from one another as Koḍumbāḷūr (Pudukottah), Śiyyāḻi (Shiyali), and Mālepāḍu." [1]

Of these minor Chōḷa families of Mushkara's times, the one for which we have some substantial epigraphical information, ruled over a territory called Rēnāṇḍu-7000 comprising the tract of land lying along the Kundēru river in the Cuddapah and Kurnool districts of Andhra Pradesh, and has been christened by historians as 'Telugu-Chōḷas'. Nilakanta Sastri describes in very poignant terms the plight of the ancient Chōḷas during the period preceeding their resurrection under Vijayālaya : "We see then that in the long historical night that envelops the Chōḷas from the third or fourth to the ninth century A.D., their condition is best described as one of suspended animation. They managed, in some manner hidden from view, to find a second home for themselves in the Rēnāṇḍu country. In their original abode, they bent low before every storm that passed over them and bided their time. For aught we know, they were occupied in finding suitable matches for their children, often with a view to political influence, with their more successful rivals,........".[2] One such quest for suitable marriage alliance obviously led to the giving of a Chōḷa princess in marriage to the

1. *The Cōḷas* (II edn.), pp. 100-01.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 106-07.

Western Gaṅga ruler Durvinīta. We have, however, no means of knowing the particular Chōḷa house to which the princess belonged. The nonmention of the name of the Chōḷa princess in our charter leads us to believe that, just as in the case of the Chōḷas, what really mattered for the Western Gaṅgas was the striking of a marriage alliance with a royal house of ancient standing.

Koṅgaṇi-perndaṭṭāra of our charter was also the writer of the Uttanūr plates of Durvinīta referred to above, and the Gummareḍḍipura plates[1] of the 40th year of the same ruler. Whereas he was granted twelve *khaṇḍuk-āvāpa-kshētras* for writing the present charter, he had received only one *khaṇḍuk-āvāpa-kshētra* for writing the Uttanūr and Gummareḍḍipura plates. The statement made in our charter that the writer was granted land as per the *brahmadēya* system shows that the Viśvakarma community enjoyed a high reckoning in the caste structure of those days. The caste-suffix *perndaṭṭāra* is part-Dravidian (*per*=great) and part-apabhraṁśa (*taṭṭāra* from Sanskrit *tvashṭri* or *tvashṭākāra* meaning 'carpenter'). It is likely that the word *likhitam* is to be taken in the sense of *utkīrṇam*, 'engraved' and not in the sense of 'composed'.

Of the geographical names occurring in the charter, two political divisions, Pānnāṭa and Punnāṭa are mentioned (lines 30-31) as falling under the hegemony of the Western Gaṅga ruler Durvinīta. Of these Punnāṭa is described in the incomplete Māmbaḷḷi plates[2] as adorned by the Kāvērī and Kapinī rivers. Kīrttipura, which served as its capital city, is the same as Kittūru in Heggadedevanakote Taluk covering the western parts of Mysore District, Karnataka. The territory which bore the name of Pānnāṭa cannot be positively identified. On the one hand, it may represent the Bāṇa territory (Bāṇa=Pāṇa + nāḍu=Pānnāḍu) and, on the other, the name may have resulted from Pāṇ + nāḍu or Pāl + nāḍu.

As has been pointed out above, Uragapura is the Sanskritised form of Uṟaiyūr, the name of one of the capital cities of the Chōḷas.

Kappuni, the river on whose southern banks the gift-village was situated, is the same as the Kapinī, a tributary of the Kāvērī. In the absense of information on the exact provenance of the charter, I am unable to identify the gift-village Kiṟumoṟekōḻi. However, keeping the known extent of the Western Gaṅga territory in view, a suggestion may be thrown. In the name of the gift-village, *kiṟu* is a prefix meaning 'small', 'junior', etc. Thus the proper name of the village is Moṟekōḻi. The name of the village with its prefix *kiṟu* implies the existence of a bigger Moṟekōḻi. There is, in the present day T. Narasipur Taluk of Mysore District, a village by the name of Doḍḍa-Maragōḍu, in which *doḍḍa* is a prefix meaning 'big'. The proper name Maragōḍu may be the present day transformation of the earlier Moṟekōḻi. If this is accepted, we may suppose that Kiṟumoṟekōḻi was situated in the T. Narasipur Taluk. Alternatively, the gift-

1 *Mys.Arch.Rep.*, 1911-12, pp. 31-32 and plate.

2 *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 33

village may be identified with Chikkamaraḷi (Hirodu Hobli, Srirangapatna Taluk, Mysore District) in which name the prefix *chikka* is a synonym of *kiṟu* and Maraḷi may have resulted from the earlier Moṟekōḷi.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 Svasti [|*] Jitam=Bhagavatā gata-ghana-gaganābhēna Padamābhēna [|*] Śrīmaj= Jāhnavēya-kulāmala-vyo-

2 m-āvabhāsana-bhāskarasya sva-khāḍg-aika-prahāra-khaṇḍita-mahā-śilā-stambha-labdha-parā-

3 krama-yaśasaḥ dāruṇ-āri-gaṇa-vidāraṇa-raṇ-ōpalabdha-vraṇa-vibhūshaṇa-vibhūshitasya

4 Kāṇvāyana-sagōtrasya śrīmat-Koṅgaṇivarmma-dharmma-mahādhirājasya putrasya pitur-anvā-

5 gata-guṇa-yuktasya vidyā-vinaya-vihita-vṛittasya samyak-prajā-pālana-mātr-ādhigata-rājya-

6 prayōjanasya nānā-śāstr-ārttha-sad-bhāv-ādhigama-praṇīta-mati-viśēshasya vidvat-kavi-kāñcha-

Second Plate : First Side

7 [na-nikash-ōpa]la-bhūtasya viśē[sha*]tō=py=anavaśēshasya nīti-śāstra[sya*] vaktṛi-prayōktṛi-kuśalasya

8 su-vibhakta-bhakta-bhṛitya-janasya Dattaka-sūtra-vritta(ttē)ḥ=praṇētu[ḥ*] śrī-Mādhava-mahādhirājasya pu-

9 trasya pitṛi-paitāmaha-guṇa-yuktasya anēka-chaturddanta-yudrā(ddh-ā)vāpta-chatur udadhi-sa-

10 lil-āsvādita-yaśasa[ḥ] sa-mada-dvirada-turag-ārōhaṇ-ātiśay-ōtpanna-tējasaḥ dhanur-a-

---

1 From inked estampages.

11 bhiyōga-sampad-viśēshasya śrīmad =Harivarmma-mahādhirājasya putrasya guru-gō-

12 brāhmaṇa-pūjakasya Nārāyaṇa-charaṇ-ānudhyātasya śrīmad=Vishṇugōpa-mahādhirājasya pu-

Second Plate . Second Side

13 trasya Tryambaka-charaṇ-āmbhōrha[1] -ra[2] jaḥ-pavitrīkṛit-ōttamāṁgasya vyāyām-ōd-vṛitta-pīna-kaṭhi-

14 na-bhuja-dvayasya sva-bhuja-bala-parākkrama-kkraya-kkrīta-rājyasya kshut-kshām-ōshṭha-piśit-āśana-

15 prītikara-niśita-dhārāsēḥ Kali-yuga-bala-paṁk-āvasanna-dharmma-vṛish-ōddharaṇa-nitya-sa-

16 nnaddhasya śrīman=Mādhava-mahādhirājasya putrasy= āvichchhinn-āśvamēdh-āva-bhṛith-ābhishi-

17 kta-śrīmat-Kadaṁba-kula-gagana-gabhasti-mālinah śrī-Kṛishṇavarma-mahārājasya priya-bhāginē-

18 yasya jananī-dēvat-āṁka-paryyaṁka ēv-ādhigata-rājy-ābhishēkasya vijṛimbhamāṇa-śakti-tra-

Third Plate : First Side

19 yasya parampar-ānavamarddan-ōpabhujyamāna-trivargga rasya asaṁbhram-āvana-mita-sama-

20 sta-sāmanta-maṇḍalasya nirantara-prēma-bahumān-ānurakta-prakṛiti-varggasya vidyā-vinay-ātiśa-

21 ya-paripūt-āntarātmana[ḥ*] Kārtta-yugīna-rāja-charit-āvalambina[ḥ*] anēka-samara-vija-

22 y-ōpārjita-vipula-yaśa[sa*]ḥ kshirōd-aik-ārṇṇavīkṛita-bhuvana-trayasya niravagraha-pradā-

1 Read *āmbhōruha*-

2 The letter *ra*, originally omitted, is engraved below the line in between the letters *rha* and *jaḥ*.

KIRUMOREKOLI GRANT OF W. GANGA MUSHKARA – PLATE I

i

ii a

ii b

iiia

iii b

iv a

SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

23 na-śauryyasya avishahya-parākkram-ākkrānta-pratirāja-mastak-ārppit-āpratihata-śāsanasya

24 vidvatsu prathama-gaṇyasya śrīmat-Koṅgaṇi-mahādhirājasya Avinīta-nāmnaḥ pu(pau)trēṇa

Third Plate : Second Side

25 Punnāṭa-rāja-Skandavarmma-priya-putrikā-janmanā sva-guru-guṇ-ānugāminā pitrā para-suta-sa-

26 māvarjitayā=pi Lakshmyā svayam- abhipra(prē)ty-āliṅgita-vipula-vaksha-sthalasya vijṛimbhamāṇa-śakti-

27 tray-ōpanamita-samasta-sāmanta-maṇḍalasya Andariya-A(Ā)lattūra-Poruḷaṟea Pern-na-

28 gar-ādy-anēka-samara-mukha-makh-āhūta-prahata-śūra-purusha-paś-ūpahāra-vighasa-vihastī-

29 kṛita-kṛitānt-āgnimukhasya Śabdāvatāra-kārasya Dēvabhāratī-nibaddha-Vaḍḍaka-thasya Kirātārju-

30 nīyē pañcha-daśa-sargga-ṭīkākārasya Durvvinīta-nāmadhēyasya samasta-Pāṇṇāṭa-Pu-

Fourth Plate : First Side

31 nnāṭ-ādhipatinō[1] Vaivasvatēnē(n=aiva) Manōr-vvarṇṇāśram-ābhirakshiṇaḥ dakshi-ṇān-diśam-abhigōptum pa-

32 ryyāptavataḥ prātijanīnasya suprajasaḥ putrēṇa Uragapur-ādhipa-parama-kshatriya-Chōḷa-

33 kula-tilaka-śrī-Dagdhacharaṇa-santāna-prasūta-vasumatīndra-sutā-sambhavēna dur-ddānta-vimardda-

34 vimṛidita-vinamṛi(mra)-vividha-viśvambhar-ēśa-mauli- mālā-makaranda-puñja-piñjarī-kriyamā-

---

1 Read °*ādhipatēḥ*.

35 ṇa-charaṇa-yugaḷa-naḷinēna Makarakētan-ayāsyamāna-vāmalōchanā-vilōchana-śara-śaravya-

36 jātēna śarīriṇā dharmmēṇa śrī-Pṛithivī-Koṅgaṇirājēna pratīta-Mushkara-dvitīya-nāmadhēyēna

Fourth Plate : Second Side

37 sarvva-vidyā-pāragēna viśēshatō nīti-śāstra-nipuṇa-buddhinā kiṁ bahuna sakala-saṁpad-ā-

38 dhāra-bhūtēna Taittirīya-charaṇāya prāvachana-kalpāya Kumba-śarmmaṇē Kap-puni-dakshiṇa-ta-

39 ṭē Kiṟumoṟekōḷi-nāma-grāma[ḥ*] Kāśyapa-gōtrāya udaka-pūrvvaṁ yathā-vidhi prādā-

40 yi sakala-mahāmanushya-pratyakshaṁ sa-sarvva-parihāraṁ Vaiśākha-māsē praśasta-tithi-

41 muhūrttē nakshatrē dinē [|*] api ch=ātra Manu-gītā[ḥ*] ślōkā[ḥ*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ(rām) [|*]

42 shashṭhi(shṭi)-varsha-sahasrāṇi ghōrē tamasi varttatē || [1*] Bahubhir-vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālitā [|*]

Fifth Plate

43 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || [2*] Svan-dātum sumahach=chhakhyaṁ(kyaṁ) duḥkham-any-a-

44 rttha- pālanaṁ (nam)[|*] dānaṁ vā pālanaṁ v=ēti dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam || [3*] Adbhir-ddattaṁ tribhir-bhuktaṁ sadbhiś=cha

45 paripālitaṁ(tam) [|*] ētāni na nivarttantē pūrvva-rāja-kṛitāni cha ||[4*] Brahma-svan=tu visham ghōraṁ nna(na) vi-

46 sham visham-uchyatē [|*] visham-ēkākinaṁ hanti brahmasvaṁ putra pautrikaṁ (kam)[1]) [[5*] Kūnāchāryy-ānvayēna |

---

1 All the five imprecatory verses are in the *Anushṭubh* metre.

KIRUMOREKOLI GRANT OF W. GANGA MUSHKARA – PLATE II

iv b

v

47 Koṅgaṇi-Perndaṭṭārēṇ=ēdan-tā[ṁ] bra-śāsanaṁ likhitaṁ tasmā(smai) dvādaśa-khaṇ-ḍuk-āvāpa-mātraṁ tatra su-

48 kshētraṁ brahmadēya-kramēṇa dattaṁ | | | ¦

NO. 12 – CHANDAVŌLU PLATES OF VIJAYĀDITYA (III)

(1 Plate)

M.D. Sampath, Mysore

This set of plates[1] strung together on a copper-ring bearing a seal, was found in the village Chandavōlu, Bapatla Taluk, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. The set is reported to have been discovered sometime in 1937 by a certain Chellapalli Kotadu while he was digging up some land in the above village. It was first brought to the notice of the then Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund by Shri P. Seshadri Sastri of Guntur. For sometime after its discovery its whereabouts were kept a secret but subsequently brought to light in May 1938 by Sri Yellapragada Hanumanta Rao, Head-Master, Board School, Chandavōlu through the influence of Sri Kalidasu, an advocate of Bapatla.

This is a set of three copper-plates, each measuring 13.7 x 5.5 cms.,strung together by a ring which is about .9 cm in thickness and about 6.4 cms in diameter. The ends of the ring are fixed into the arms of the ornamental bracket at the bottom of the circular seal, 4.5 cms in diameter. On the counter-sunk surface of the seal are cut in relief the Sun and the crescent in the centre at the top, below it, a running boar facing proper right.

Below this is the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvanāṁkuśa* and at the bottom, the open petals of an expanded lotus. A slight knot projects at this spot probably to protect the seal from wear and tear. The whole set with ring and seal weighs 629.9 gms while the ring with the seal alone weighs 256 gms.

While the first plate bears writing only on the inner side, plates 2 and 3 have writing on both of their sides though the second side of the 3rd plate has only two lines of writing. Though the rims are not raised the writing is well preserved.

There are altogether 24 lines of writing, distributed as follows: sides I and IIa: 5; sides IIb and IIIa: 6; side IIIb: 2. The characters are Telugu-Kannaḍa of the middle of the 9th century A.D. The palaeographical features of the record are regular for the period to which it belongs though in the case of some letters there is a slight tendency towards ornamentation. In most of the cases the medial *ā* sign is indicated by a thick dot. As regards orthography the only noteworthy point is the uniform reduplication of the consonant immediately following *r*. Further, it may be observed that the text is not free from mistakes. The language is Sanskrit and, except one imprecatory verse and another referring to the *ājñapti* at the end, the record is composed in prose.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Eastern Chāḷukya king Vijayāditya III[2] (849-92 A.D.) but bears no date. The object of the charter is to register the royal

---

1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1938-39, No. A 2.

2 Contra: *A.R.Ep.*, 1938-39, Part II, p. 72, para 4 where the charter is assigned to Vijayāditya II.

grant of lands with the sowing capacity of 10 *kanṭikas* in the village Maṁgavēḍu in Gudravāra-vishaya to the brāhmaṇa Yajña-śarman, son of Bandhu-śarman and grandson of Kuppa-śarman who belonged to Bhāradvāja-gōtra and Āpastamba-sūtra, who was well versed in the Vēdas and who was a resident of Krōvachūru.

The copper plate charter opens with the auspicious word *svasti* followed by the usual Eastern Chāḷukya *praśasti, Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana saṁstūyamāna,* etc. (lines 1-7). This is followed by the reference to Vishṇuvardhana-mahārāja who is described as the one who gained victory in many battles (lines 7-8). Line 9 mentions Vijayāditya-mahārāja without any titles. Then the donor king Vijayāditya, who is described as the son of Vishṇuvardhana and grandson of the above Vijayāditya, is introduced (lines 9-11). He is endowed with the titles *mahārājādhirāja, paramēśvara* and *bhaṭṭāraka* (lines 11-12). In the next three lines is recorded the king's address to the householders led by *rāshṭrakūṭa* of the Gudravāra-vishaya (lines 12-14). Lines 14-17 introduce the donee viz., Yajña-śarmmaṇ, who was the son of Bandhu-śarmman and the grandson of Kuppa-śarmman and belonged to Bhāradvāja-gōtra and Āpastamba-sūtra and a resident of Krōvachūru. Yajña-śarmma is described as well-versed in the *vēdas (adhīta-vēdāya,* line 17). Lines 17-18 record the actual purport of the charter i.e., the grant of land wherein 10 *kanṭikas* of grain can be sown in the village Maṁgavēḍu. Lines 18-20 delineate the boundaries of the gift land while lines 21-22 record an imprecatory verse. Paṇḍaraṅga, the *ājñapti* of the charter, who is described as the ocean of good qualities and as the bee at the lotus feet of the king Vijayāditya *(Paṇḍara[ṁ*]gō guṇ-ākaraḥ Vijayāditya-bhūpasya pāda-padma-śilīmukhaḥ)* is referred to in lines 23-24.

The donor king of the grant has been identified with Vijayāditya II, who bore the title *Narēndra-mṛigarāja,* in the *A.R.Ep.,* for 1938-39.[1] The report further says, "The executor (*ājñapti*) of the grant is said to be Paṇḍaraṅga, 'the bee at the lotus-feet of Guṇagāṅka-Vijayāditya. These two persons are identical with the famous general Paṇḍaraṅga and his master Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III...."[2] In this context we suggest that the donor king need not be identified with *Narēndra-mṛigarāja* Vijayāditya II as there is specific indication to that extent in the charter under study. Further, since the *ājñapti* of the present grant Paṇḍaraṅga is already known to us as the *ājñapti* of the Sātalūru and Chimbulūru grants of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III, we may safely identify the donor king with Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III.[3]

Of the geographical places, the village Maṁgavēḍu has been identified with Maṅginapūḍi in the Bandar Taluk of the Krishna District.[4] The residence of the donee,

---

1 *A.R.Ep.,* 1938-39, pt. II, p. 72, para 4.

2 *Ibid.*

3 The reference to the king as Guṇagāṅka-Vijayāditya, made in the *Report* is probably based on wrong reading of the concerned portion of line 23. The actual reading is *Paṇḍara[ṁ*]gō guṇ-ākharaḥ(karaḥ,* and as such the term Guṇagāṅka need not be taken into consideration.

4 *A.R.Ep., op. cit.*

Krōvachūru is the same as modern Krōsūru in Sattenapalle Taluk, Guntur District. The boundaries of the gift land are Kappuṟēni-chēnu[1] in the east, Cheṟukani-chēnu in the south; Chāmana-bōyu-chēnu in the west and Raṭṭōḍi-chēnu in the north.

TEXT[2]

First Plate Second Side

1 Svasti Śrīmā(ma)tāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mā-

2 navya-sagōtrāṇāṁ Hārīti[3]-putrāṇāṁ Kauśikī-vara-pra[sā*]da-la-

3 bdha-[rā]jyānāṁ(nā)m=Mātṛigaṇa-paripa(pā)litānā[ṁ] Svā[mi]-Mahā-

4 sēna-pāda(d-ā)nudhya(dhyā)tānā[ṁ] bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasa(sā)da-sa

5 māsādita-vara-varāha-lāñcha(ñchha)n-ēkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśīkṛi-

Second Plate : First Side

6 t-ārāti-maṇḍalāna(nā)m=Aśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snā[na*]-pavitrīkṛi-

7 ta-vapushāṁ Chalukyānāṁ kulamam(m-a)la(laṁ) karishṇōḥ anēka-sama-

8 ra-saṁghaṭṭan-ō[pa*]labdha-vijayasya Vishṇuvarddhana-mahā-

9 rājasya priya-tanayaḥ Vijaya(yā)ditya-mahārājasya pautra[ḥ*]

10 Mērur=iva śamstita-mitr-ōdayaḥ śārṅg=īv=ārāti-bhīti-kṛita-

Second Plate : Second Side

11 chakrō [ja]lanidhir=iva Lakshmī-pra[bhā]vah Vijaya(yā)ditya-mahārā-

12 jā[dhi]rāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭa(ṭṭā)rakah Gudrava(vā)ra-vishē(sha)ya-vāsina(nō)

13 rāshṭrakūṭā-pramukhān-kuṭu[ṁ]binaḥ sarvva(vvā)n=ittham=ājñāpaya-

---

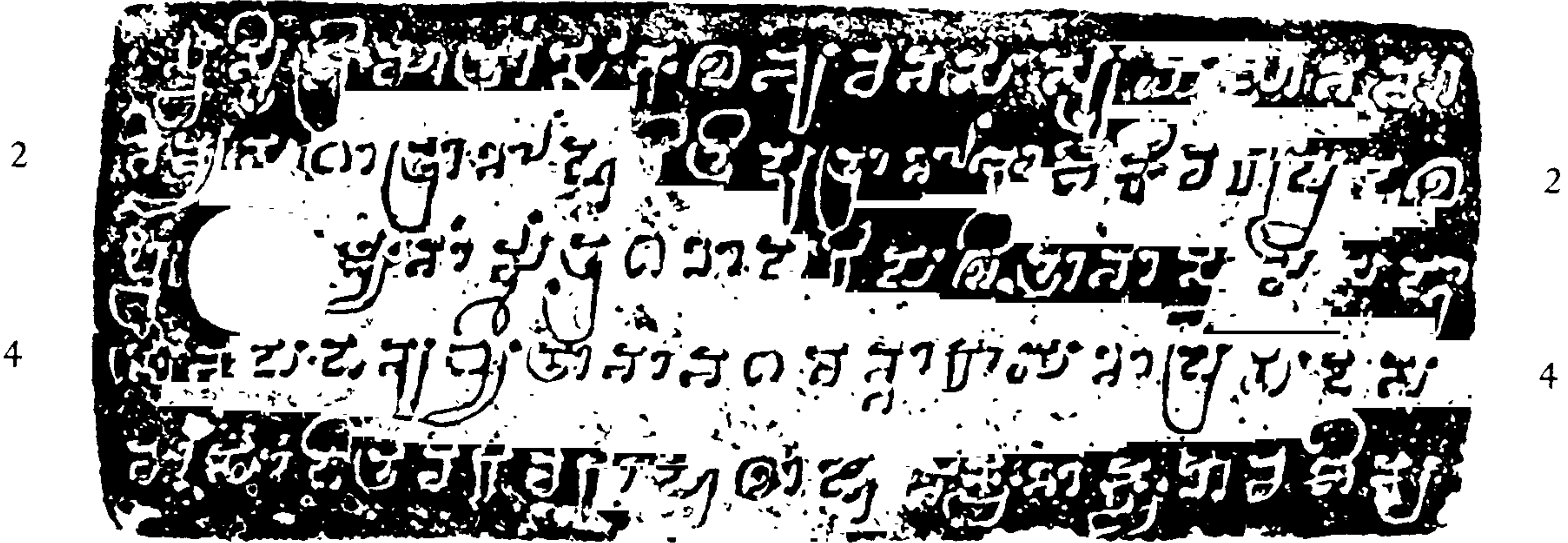
1 [*Kappu-ṟēni-chēnu* obviously denotes the black cotton soil – Ed.].

2 From estampages.

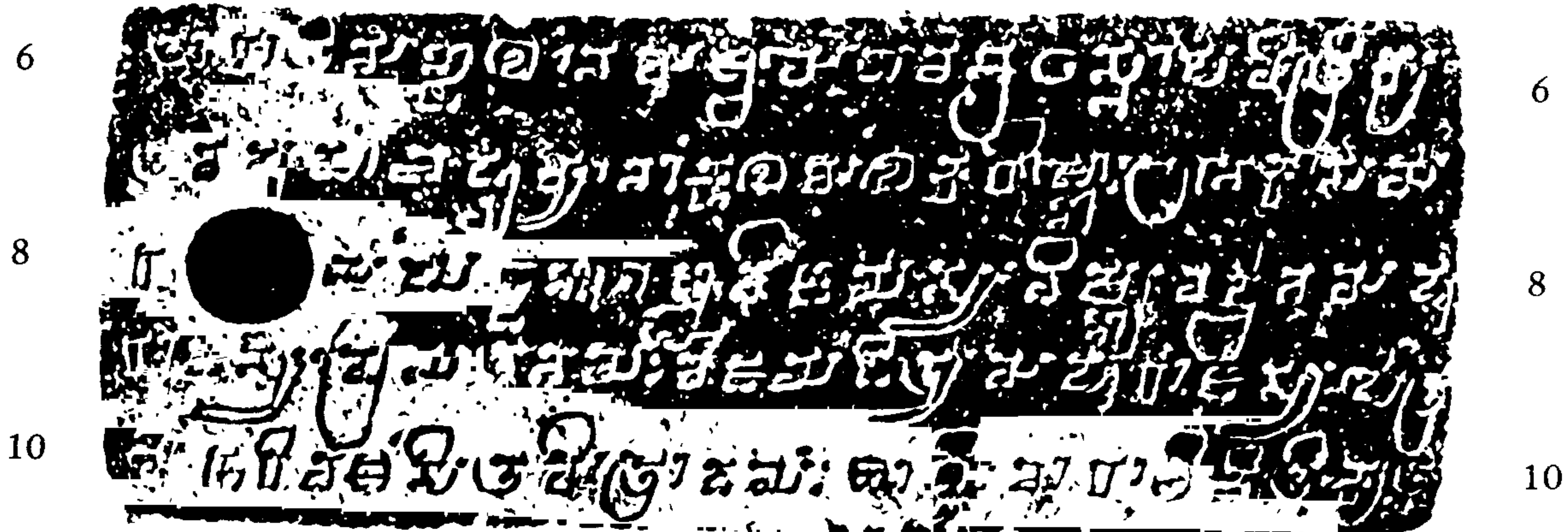
3 Read *Hārīti*.

CHANDAVŌLU PLATES OF VIJAYĀDITYA (III)

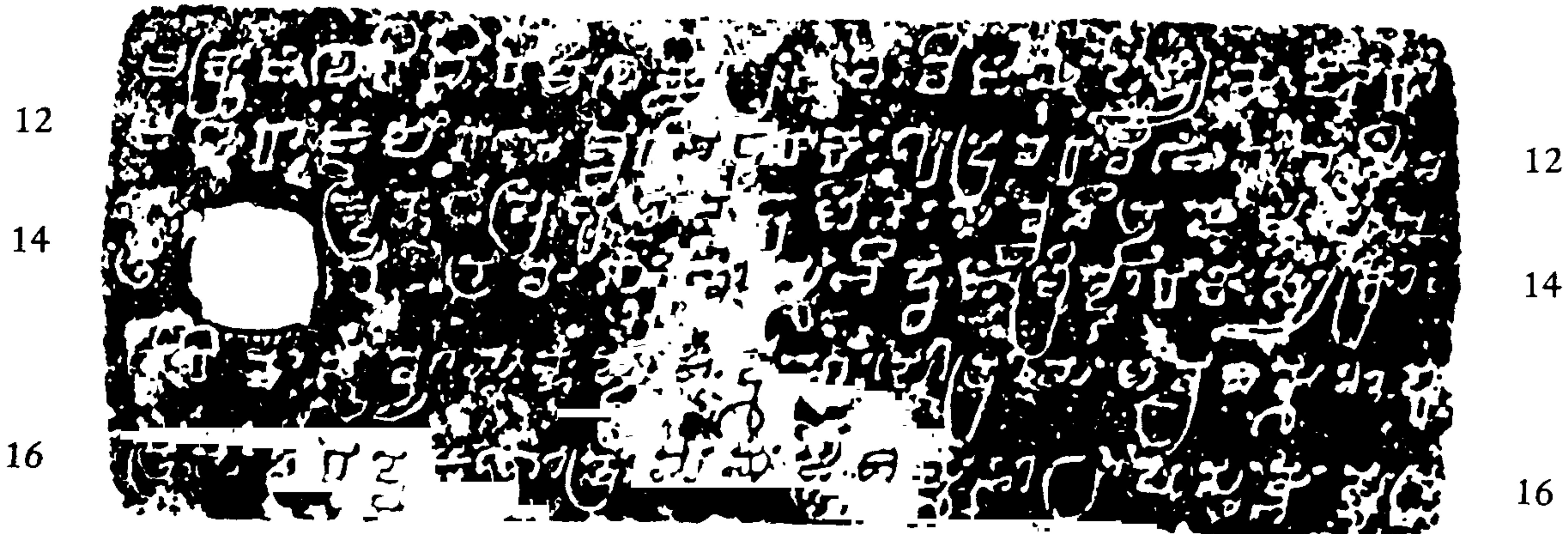
i



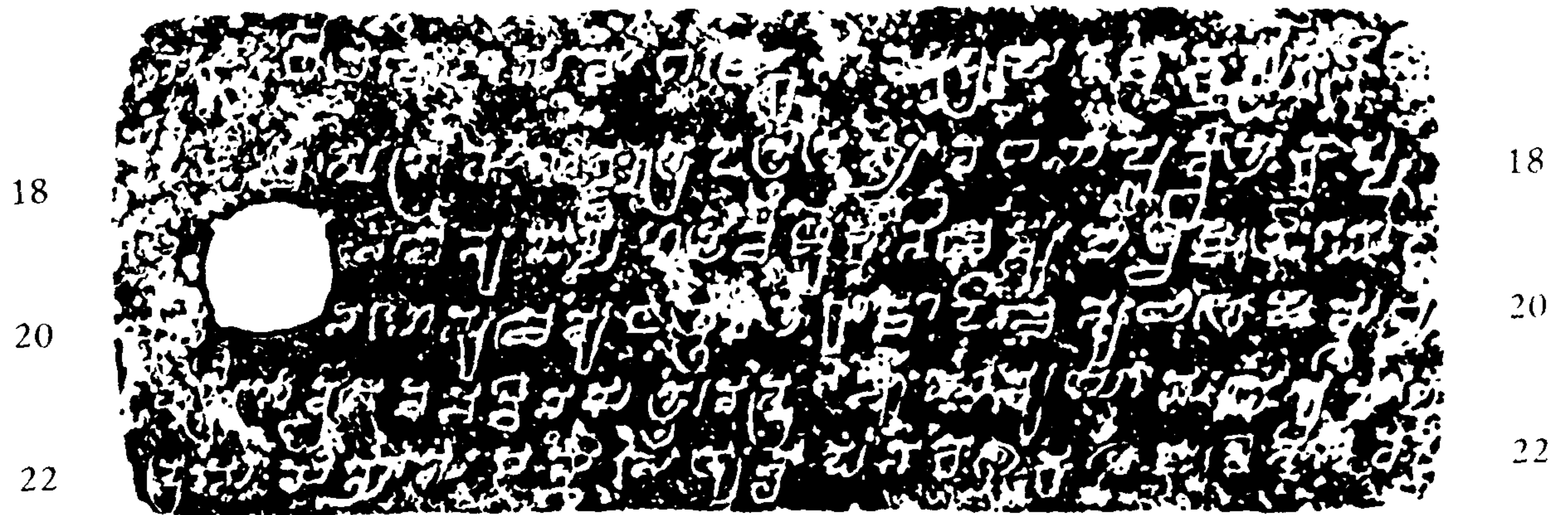
ii a



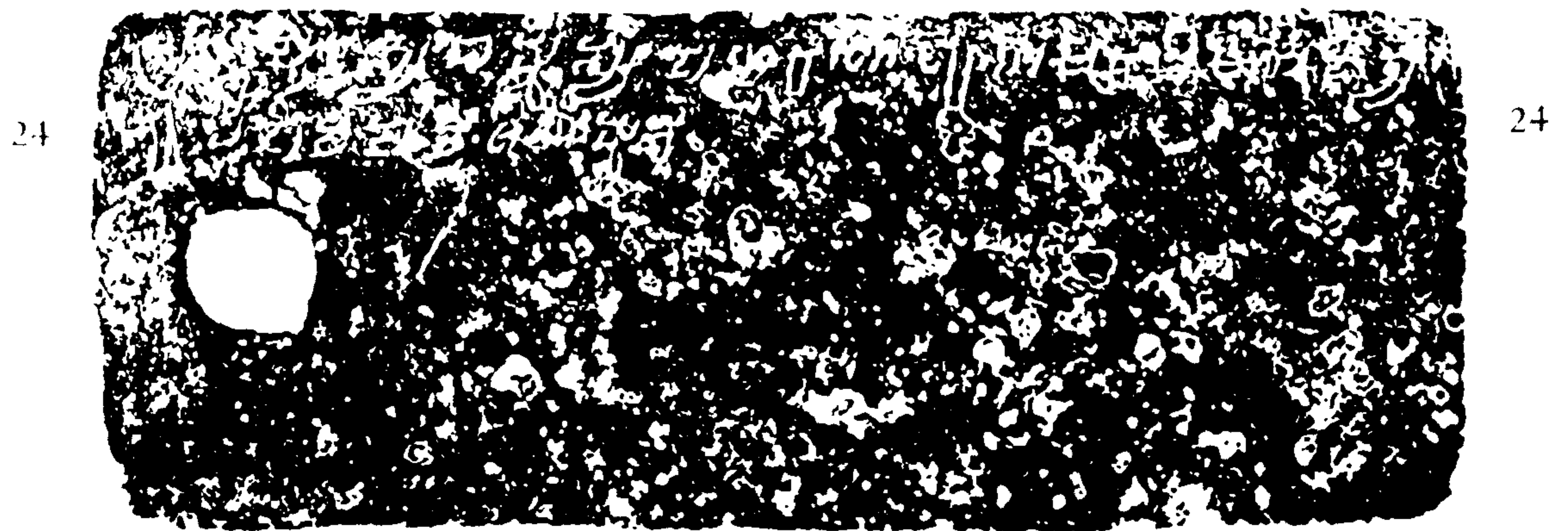
ii b



iii a



iii b



ACTUAL SIZI

14 ti viditam=astu vō=sma(smā)bhir-dva(r-dvi)ja -bri(bṛi)ndārakasya Krōva-

15 [chū] ri-vāstavyāya Kuppa-śarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya Bandha(dhu)-śarmmaṇaḥ pu-

16 trāya Bhāradva(dvā)ja-gōtrāya Yajña-śarmmaṇē Āpastambha(mba)-sūtrā-

Third Plate : First Side

17 ya adhīta-vēdāya Maṁgavēḍu-nāma-grāmē daśā(śa)-kaṇṭikā-vrī[hi]-

18 [bī]jāvāpa--pramā[ṇaṁ] kshētra[ṁ] dattaṁ[|*] tasy=āvadhaya[ḥ*] pūrvvataḥ Kappu-

19 ṟēṇi-chēnu dakshiṇata[ḥ*] Cheṟukani-chēnu paśchimataḥ bōlu-

20 [Chamā]na-bōyu-chēnu uttarata[ḥ*] Raṭṭōḍi-chēnu ētēsha(shā)m=madhya-

21 vartti [||*] Sarvvān=ēva bhāvina[ḥ*] pa(pā)rttha(tthi)vēndra(rā)n bhūyō bhūyō ya(yā)[cha*] tē Rāmabha-

22 draḥ[|*] sāmānyō=yaṁ dharmma-sētur-nṛipānāṁ(ṇāṁ) kālē ka(kā)lē pālanī[yō*] bhava[dbhiḥ] [||][1]

Third Plate : Second Side

23 Ājñaptir=asya (dharmmasya) Paṇḍara[ṁ*]gō guṇ-ākha(ka)rah [|*] Vijayāditya-

24 bhūpa[sya*] pāda-padma-śilīmukaḥ(khaḥ) ||[1]

---

1 The metre of the verse is *Anushṭubh*.

NO. 13 – KUKKE (SUBRAHMAṆYA) GRANT OF MĀDHAVARĀJA, KALI 4488 AND ŚAKA 1309

(*2 plates*)

K. V. Ramesh, Mysore

This set[1] of plates edited here was secured from Subrahmaṇya or Kukke, Puttur Taluk, South Kanara District, Karnataka and was in the possession of Shri B.R. Vyasarayachar of Mangalore when it was copied by the then Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund in the year 1928-29. It consists of five plates, each measuring 31.4 x 20 cms. On the top centre of each plate is a circular hole, about 1.5 cms in diameter, for the ring of the seal to pass through. No details regarding the ring and the seal and the weight and thickness of the plates are now available. The outer sides of plates I and V do not bear any writing and the text, engraved on the eight remaining sides, runs into 224 lines in all, the distribution of these lines on each side being as follows: I : 25; IIa : 33; IIb : 32; IIIa : 31; IIIb : 29; IVa : 30; IVb : 25; V : 18.

The **characters** used are Nāgarī of the 14th-15th century and the **language** is **Sanskrit** (prose and verse), though the grant portion betrays remarkable **Kannaḍa** influence. Among **orthographical** peculiarities, attention may be drawn to the facts that no uniform procedure is observed in doubling consonants immediately following *r* and that Dravidian *ṟ* is represented by *ṟṟ* The letter *ḷ* is differentiated from *l* by a loop-like formation at the left of the latter letter.

The details of date (verses 16-19; lines 28-33), which are rather unusually elaborate are as follows: **Kali 4488** (expressed by the chronogram *gaj-ēbh-ābdhi-yuga), Ś***aka 1309** (expressed by the chronogram *grah-āmbar-āgni-śītāṁśu),* the current cyclic year **Prabhava, Pausha ba. 3, Friday, 1033935** (expressed by the chronogram *bāṇa-tritaya-ramdhr-āgni-guṇa-kh-ēṁdu)* **days having expired,**[2] **Uttarāshāḍha-nakshatra, Āyushmad-yōga, Bālava-karaṇa, when the Sun was in Makara** (i.e. Capricornus). If *kṛishṇa*° is taken to have been wrongly written for *śukla-paksha,* then the details of date, *viz.,* the Kali, Śaka and cyclic years, the month, *tithi,* week-day and *nakshatra* would correspond to **1387 A.D., December 13, Friday, f.d.t. .37; f.d.n. .41.**

The object of the charter is to record a number of grants (details discussed below) made to the temple of Subrahmaṇya at Kukke which was attached to Kaḍaba-nagara in Tauḷava-maṇḍala by the ruler *(mahīpati)* Mādhav-āryya, the Lord of Gōvāpura.

---

1 *A.R.Ep.,* 1928-29, App. A, No. 2 and p. 82.

2 In terms of years this date falls in the middle of the second millennium B.C. and, therefore, appears to give the number of days which had elapsed since the *Mahābhārata* war. See Ojha : *Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipi-mālā,* p. 162.

The charter commences with a salutation to god Mahāgaṇapati (line 1) followed by verses 1 and 2 (lines 1-5) in praise of Śiva. Verse 3 (lines 5-7) is in praise of Vishṇu while verse 4 (lines 7-9) eulogises Gaṇapati, the elephant-faced grandson of Himavān. Verse 5 (lines 9-11) refers to the creation of the *dharma-śāsana* i.e., the copper-plate grant in question. While verse 6 (lines 11-12) states that God Subrahmaṇya, the son of Śiva, is established in His abode at Kumāra-giri, verse 7 (lines 12-14) states that His *alter ego* is established in the village of Kukke, situated in the territory (*pradēśa*) of Tuḷu-maṇḍala. Verses 8-13 (lines 14-24) are devoted to the praise of Kukke-Subrahmaṇya, described, among other things, as surrounded by serpents, as the punisher of the wicked, as addicted to truth, as generous towards brāhmaṇas, as the redeemer of 21 families or communities age after age and as worshipped by brāhmaṇas learned in the Vēdas.

Verses 14-20 (lines 24-34) and half of a stanza in lines 34-35 state that the ruler *(mahīpati)* Mādhavārya, the Lord of Gōvāpura, who had annihilated the circle of his enemies and who had installed (the image of) Saptanātha at Śaṁkhadvīpa, having heard of the greatness of the God Subrahmaṇya (of Kukke), given in the *Purāṇas* as narrated by Umā and Mahēśvara, made grants of land in the immediate presence of God Triyaṁbaka, for the worship of that deity and also to brāhmaṇas, on the date, details of which have been discussed above.

In the prose passage in lines 35-44, it is stated that what follows (in the lines subsequent to line 44) is a detailed account of plots of lands with standing houses, purchased from different villages (and granted) for the conduct of different daily services, such as *naivēdya, nivēdana,* etc., to the deity Subrahmaṇya, in the *agraśālā* which had been purchased, by paying a price in keeping with the cost prevalent in those days *(tat-kāla-samuchita-krayamūlyēna grihītāyāṁ agraśālāyāṁ)* from that deity Himself (and then given back to Him as a grant). The *agraśālā,* the boundaries of which are enumerated, is said to be situated in the village of Kukke which is attached to Kaḍaba-nagara in Tuḷu-maṇḍala.

The first grant, recorded in lines 44-45, was six *nishkas* of money which was the amount to be realised *per annum* from the betel groves surrounding the *agraśālā.*

The second grant, recorded in lines 45-53, was a plot of land, yielding two crops *per annum (dvi-sasya-kshētraṁ)* and situated in the village of Beḷenele which was included in Edetaḍe-janapada. The gift land was of the extent of being sown with 12 *mūḍes* of seeds, each *mūḍe* having a capacity of 45 measures of seed measured by the bell-metal measure of the temple of Subrahmaṇya *(tad-dēvasthāna-kāṁsyamānīmānēna paṁcha-chatvāriṁśatā parimita,* etc.). The said plot of land formed a part of the *śūdravāta-kshētra* purchased by Kukku-veggaḍe and was in turn, purchased from him for making the grant. The annual quantum of produce from the gift land, the boundaries of which are defined, was 50 *mūḍes* of rice measured by the same temple-measure.

Lines 53-59 record the third grant which consisted of a plot of land (boundaries specified), situated in the *śūdravāta* Bhūtipāla in Kare-nāḍu and purchased, by paying.

for it at the prevalent rate (*pūrvavat-krayēṇa-grihītaṁ*), from Ukku-nāyaka, Datta-maiṁda and Barīya Vīru-mēraṁṭa. The gift land was of the extent of being sown with 41 *mūḍes* of seeds and its annual yield was 164 *mūḍes* of rice.

The fourth gift, recorded in lines 59-69, consisted of a plot of land (boundaries defined), yielding two crops per year, situated in Kaṁdūru-valaya. This was a *bahusvāmika-kshētra* of the extent of being sown with 39 *mūḍęs* of seeds and purchased from five joint owners, viz., the person holding the office of *kārya-heggaḍe*, Veḍali-kuṁmata, Kuṁmata-śrēshṭhin and *paḍavala* Kōti, the five pieces thus purchased being of the extent of being sown with 8, 6-1/2, 7, 3-1/2 and 14 *mūḍes* of seeds respectively. The annual yield of this plot of land was 164 *mūḍikās* of rice.

The fifth gift, recorded in lines 69-71, consisted of an excellent (*ākara*) field (boundaries specified) called Kukkuṁgalay-āḍuka, which was attached to the same Kaṁdūru-valaya.

Lines 71-78 record the sixth grant which consisted of a plot of land, yielding two crops annually, which was situated in the Kōṭhāraṁjada-valaya and which was of the extent of being sown with 54 *mūḍikas* of seeds and which was purchased from 4 different persons, viz., Kēmaru, the *kāryyada-heggaḍe*, Maṁju-heggaḍe and Mittilāḍeḍamu, the four pieces thus purchased being of the extent of being sown with 27, 5, 12 and 10 *mūḍikās* of seeds respectively. The annual yield from this plot of land was 214 *mūḍikās*.

Lines 78-79 record the sixth grant consisting of a plot of land (boundaries specified), parts of it yielding two crops and the rest yielding one crop annually, which was of the extent of being sown with 45 *mūḍikās* of seeds and was situated in the Alpa-valaya. This plot of land was made up of pieces purchased from the following nine individuals, the extent of each such piece being given here within brackets at the end of each of the nine names : Paṁji-kēmana (4); *kāryya-heggaḍe* (14-1/2);[1] Ukku (5);[2] Karmina-heggaḍe (2); Veḍali-kuṁmata (3);[3] the *heggaḍe* of Eṇmūru (10-1/2); Bīra-kukka (4) and Cheṁna (2). The annual yield from this plot of land was 168 *dvi-sasya-mūḍikās* of rice.

---

1 Two pieces of land were purchased from *kāryya-heggaḍe*, one of the extent of being sown with 10-1/2 *mūḍikās* of seeds and which was probably a *dvi-sasya-kshētra* and the other, of the extent of being sown with 4 *mūḍikās* of seeds and was an *ēka-sasya-kshētra*.

2 From Ukku also two pieces of land were purchased, the first one, of the extent of being sown with 3 *mūḍikās* of seeds and was obviously a *dvi-sasya-kshētra* and the other, of the extent of being sown with two *mūḍikās* of seeds and was an *ēka-sasya-kshētra*.

3 His name is written as such in lines 86-87, as Beḍali-kuṁmata in line 84, as Veḍala-kuṁmata in line 81 and as Beṁḍali-kuṁmata in line 90. From him three pieces of land were purchased, each of the extent of being sown with 2 *mūḍikās* of seeds, two of the pieces being *ēka-sasya-kshētras*. Of these one *ēka-sasya-kshētra* was given up to form part of a field called *beṁḍali-kshētra* and the other *ēka-sasya-kshētra* was considered as equal only to 1 *mūḍikā bījavāpa-kshētra* Thus the total extent of land purchased from him was of the extent of being sown with 3 *mūḍikās* of seeds.

The seventh grant, recorded in lines 97-104, consisted of a plot of land of the extent of being sown with 30 *mūḍikās* of seeds and was situated in Kumjataṭi and known by the name of Chaṭṭādi-kshētra. This was made up of three pieces, two of them purchased from the *heggaḍe* of Eṇmūru and the third from Kēmaru, the two pieces of the *heggaḍe's* land being of the extent of being sown with 18 and 8 *mūḍikās* of seeds while that of Kēmaru was of the extent of being sown with 4 *mūḍikās* of seeds. The annual yield from this plot of land was 400 *dvi-sasya-mūḍikās* of rice.

The text in lines 104-109 is in the nature of summing up the details of the grants thus made. It is again averred (in lines 104-106) that in the case of the donated plots of lands, purchased from seven villages, each *mūḍikā* was of the capacity of 45 measures measured by the bell-metal measures of the (Subrahmaṇya) temple. In lines 106-107, it is stated that the lands granted were together of the extent of being sown with (12 + 41 + 39 + 54 + 45 + 30 =)221 *mūḍikās* of seeds while, in lines 107-109, it is stated that the sum total of the income from the grants made included the annual yield from all these lands, amounting to 866[1] *mūḍikās* of rice and 6 *nishkas* of money.

In lines 109-45 are given details covering the apportionment of the above grants of 866 *mūḍikās* of rice and 6 *nishkas* for different services in the temple of Subrahmaṇya. Of the 866 *mūḍikās*, 120 were to be utilised for conducting the *saṁgava-kāla-pūjā* called *paṁdīradī* and for the daily services of *ēka-rudra-pūjā* and *naivēdya*; 34 were to be utilised for *naivēdya, rudra-pūjā, brāhmaṇa-bhōjana* and for the provision of ghee for sprinkling on the stone; 3 for *rudra-pūjā* and for providing the deity and *brāhmaṇas* with *tāṁbūla*; 8 for the provision of sandal, flowers, incense and lamps; and 36 for the provision of a perpetual lamp in front of the deity.[2]

Of the remaining *mūḍikās* of rice 96 *mūḍikās* were to be used, at the rate of 8 *mūḍikās* per month, for providing livelihood *(jīvikā)* for the *brāhmaṇa* engaged in the recitation of the Vēdas. The *brāhmaṇa* who benefits by this grant should complete 48 recitations per year at the rate of 4 recitations per month (lines 118-22).

Lines 122-24 state that 8 *taṁḍula-mūḍikās* per month were to be utilised for the daily feeding of 12 *brāhmaṇas* in the *agraśālā;* this amounted to 20 *śāli-mūḍikās* (per month) and another 4 *mūḍikās* were set aside (as payment) for ridding the above 20 *mūḍikās* of rice of their chaff or husk (lines 124-26).

Lines 126-30 record the grant of 4-1/2 *nishkas* of money, out of which specified amounts of money *(tāra)* are to be spent everyday for fuel (2 *tāra*), a cover or lid (2 *tāras*), fruits, vegetables and the five ingredients (for preparing *paṁcha-kashāya ?) (2-1/2 tāras*), salt, mango, pepper, cumin-seeds, turmeric and asafoetida (3 *tāras*), butter-milk (3 *tāras*), and 12 *tāṁbūlas* (1 *tāra*). Thus, at the rate of 10-1/2 *tāras* per day, the total amount was 315 *tāras* per month. Another grant of 2-1/2 *nishkas* is

1 The annual yield of crops actually amounted to (50 + 164 + 164 + 214 + 168 + 400 =) 1160 *mūḍikās* of rice.

2 Though this adds up to 201 *mūḍikās*, the total figure is wrongly given in lines 116-17 and again in lines 138-39 as 200 *mūḍikās*.

recorded in lines 130-33 towards the cost of 60 measures *(prasriti)* (of grain?) at the rate of 2 *kāṁsya-prasritis* per day and of 15 bell-metal measures of ghee, each measure being of the capacity of 4 *prasritis.* Thus the money grant totalled (4-1/2 + 2-1/2 =)7 *nishkas* per month. For this purpose (i.e. for realising this amount of 7 *nishkas*), 21 *mūḍikās* of grains were earmarked (lines 133-34).

For the cook a grant of 6 *nishkas* and the grains remaining unused, on account of fasting on *ēkādaśi* days, was made (lines 134-35) as his *jīvikā* (livelihood).

Thirty *mūḍikās* of rice were set aside for carrying out annual repairs and renovations in the *agra-śālā* (lines 135-36).

Lines 137-45 give a brief resume of the grants, consisting of 866 *mūḍikās* of rice and 6 *nishkas* of money, recorded in lines 109-36.

In lines 145-50 are recorded grants of one bronze lamp-post, one tripod, one vessel for (keeping) the *naivēdya* and one copper jar for purposes of cooking to the god Subrahmaṇya and of one copper pitcher, one frying vessel, one vessel for cleaning grains, one copper ladle, one water-vessel and 6 she-buffaloes whose milk was to be utilised in the feeding of *brāhmanas*, to the temple choultry.

Four different grants of land and money to be utilised for the feeding of the *brāhmanas* on the occasions of the great festivals of the deity's ceremonial procession on the *śuddha-tritīyā* of *Vriśchika-saṁkrānti* and *Subrahmaṇya-shashṭhi* every year are recorded in lines 151-94. The *brāhmaṇas* to be thus fed included the 32 village elders *(dvātriṁśad-grāma-mukhyas)*, and those who come from the many villages and assemble (at Kukke) for the festival of *Subrahmaṇya-shashṭhi*. Of these four grants, the first one (lines 151-67), made by Mādhavāryya, having the epithet of *Upanishan-mārga-pravartak-āchārya*, consisted of a plot of land (boundaries specified), situated in Beḷunele in Yeḍetaḍe-dēśa and purchased from Kukku-veggaḍe of Veḷunele and Virumaṇṇa-veggaḍe of Kuṁjataṭi. The plot which was of the extent of being sown with 8 *mūḍikās* of seeds and which yielded annually two crops totalling 30 *mūḍikās* (of grains), was granted along with its jack, mango and betel-nut trees and 5 *nishkas* of money raised as tax for that land.

The second grant, recorded in lines 167-74, was made by Ajila-Madda of Sirivāgil and consisted of a plot of land, situated in the village Baḍagere, along with its bower and jack, mango and betel-nut trees and its tax amount of 7 *nishkas.* The land was of the extent of being sown with 11 *mūḍikās* of seeds and its twice-a-year yield was 16 *mūḍikās* of rice.

The joint donees of the third and fourth grants, details of which are recorded in lines 174-88, were the potters *(kuṁbhāra)* Mudiya-seṭṭi and Beḷḷi-seṭṭi. Of these, the third grant (lines 174-82) consisted of a plot of land called Aṁḍeyavairiya-bhūmi and situated in Vāgēya-grāma and also included the bowers and betel-nut, mango, jack and pepper groves and the tax amount of 4 *nishkas.* The land was of the extent of being sown with 7 *mūḍikās* of seeds and its annual yield of two crops a year was 16 *mūḍikās.* The fourth grant (lines 181-88) consisted of a plot of land called Dēsuṁkukkīyạ and situated in Vāgi-grāma and included its *āḍuka*, betel-nut, mango, jack and other trees

and its tax amount of 7 *niskhas*. The land was of the extent of being sown with 16 *mūḍikās* of seeds and its annual yield was 32 *mūḍikās* of rice. In lines 188-94, a brief resume of the above grants, amounting to 96 *mūḍikās* of grains and 23 *nishkas*, is given.

It is stated, in lines 196-203 , that at the time of paying the cost of the purchased plots of lands to the land-owners, in accordance with the then prevailing rates, the 32 village elders and the *pādamūlis* of the temple, having arranged for the payment of money to the respective land-owners, thus freeing the gift-lands from all encumbrances, took a vow, in the presence of Mādhavarāja, to act in such a way as to keep the entire grant free from all encumbrances. Lines 203-204 state that, by virtue of this act, the gift lands were thus freed from royal taxes *(rāja-kara)*, royal pageantry *(rāj-ōtsava)* and royal demands (*yāñchyā*).. The king *(rājā)*, the 32 village elders, the people of the locality (*deśīyāḥ)* and citizens in general are then exhorted (lines 204-208) to preserve and protect the grants for all times to come. Lines 208-17 contain five imprecatory stanzas usually met with in such *bhūmi-dāna* grants.

Lines 217-22 state that *upanishan-mārga-pravartak-āchāryya* Mādhavapati, who, by his manifold acts of devotion, had seen Lord Śiva with his own eyes, who had annihilated all his enemies and who had installed (the image of) Saptanātha at Śaṁkha-dvīpa, had written with his own hands, in the presence of his favourite deity, Triyaṁbaka, the sign-manual. The record ends with the sign-manual śrī-Triyaṁbaka (line 223).

The grant under study, which provides us with interesting details regarding temple administration and also contains many technical terms of lexical interest, is also of some historical importance. The prime donor of the grants recorded therein viz., Mādhavārya or Mādhavarāja or Mādhvapati played an important role in the early decades of the history of the Vijayanagara empire. Apart from this grant, there are two other records, one a copper-plate grant[1] from Kātavaḷḷi, Sorab Taluk, Shimoga District and the other, a stone inscription[2] from Hārōmuchchaḍi-agrahāra, Shikaripur Taluk, Shimoga District which contain references to this Mādhava. The former, issued in 1347 A.D., refers itself to the reign of Mārapa, one of the younger brothers of Harihara I, over the western parts of the empire from his headquarters at Chandragutti in Vanavāsi-12,000 and mentions Mādhava as his minister. This charter further states that Mādhava had for his *guru* the ascetie Kriyāśakti who was, on the score of brilliance, Triyambaka himself. The other inscription from Hārōmuchchaḍi-agrahāra belongs to 1368 A.D. and to the reign of Bukka I. According to this epigraph, Mādhava was Bukka's minister and was ordered by the latter to take over the administration of the western parts of the empire, right upto the sea coast. In this record also Mādhava is mentioned as the disciple of Kāśīvilāsa-Kriyāśakti and is given the epithet *Upanishan-mārga-pratishṭhā-guruḥ*, which is almost the same as the epithet given to him in our charter. Again, as is the case with the record under study, this inscription says that

1 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb 375.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Sk 281.

Triyambaka was Mādhava's *ishṭaliṅga.* Another inscription from the same *agrahāra* and also dated in 1368 A.D. names Mādhava as Mādarasa-oḍeya and calls him the *mahāpradhāna* of Bukka I. It is clear from these three inscriptions that Mādhava held the post of minister and also the overlordship of the western parts of the empire for at least four decades from 1347 A.D., the date of the Kātavaḷḷi grant, to 1387 A.D., the date of the charter edited below.

Of the measures of capacity mentioned in our charter, *mūḍā* or *mūḍikā* is a Sanskritised form of *mūḍe* which occurs in many South Kanara inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period and which is known in present day South Kanara as *muḍi.*[1] Each *mūḍā* or *mūḍikā* was, as far as our record was concerned, of the quantity of 45 measures measured by the brass-metal measure of the Subrahmaṇya temple. The term *dvi-sasya-mūḍikā* (line 96), *vrīhi-mūḍikā* (lines 134-35), *taṁḍula-mūḍikā* (line 124) and *śāli-mūḍikā* (line 125) are only nominal variants of *mūḍā* or *mūḍikā.*

Another measure of capacity mentioned in the record is *prasṛiti.* As a measure, this Sanskrit term means a handful. [2] But the expression *kāṁsya-prasṛiti* occurring in our inscription shows that this was also a brass-metal measure (*kāṁsya-māna*) of capacity.

Of the two numismatic terms occurring in the charter viz., *nishka* and *tāra,* the former is a gold coin and the latter, a copper coin.[3]

Lands were measured on the basis of the quantity of seeds each given plot of land needed for sowing and the term used for this in our as also in a number of other South Kanara inscriptions is *bījāvāpa.* In modern times this method of measuring lands is known in South Kanara as *bījavari.*[4] Bījāvāpa may be compared with *drōṇāvāpa*[5] of North Indian inscriptions which, in effect, is *drōṇa-bījāvāpa* i.e. 'an area of land requiring one *drōṇa* measure of seeds to be sown'.

The expression *bahu-svāmikaṁ kshētraṁ* (line 63) is of some interest. It does not merely mean that the plot of land in question was jointly owned by more than two individuals. The word *bahu* of this phrase is to be taken here as Sanskrit translation of the Kannaḍa term *balaru* (or *samasta-balaru*), which denotes in South Kanara of the Vijayanagara period, a communion of associations or bodies. Many Vijayanagara inscriptions from South Kanara mention *balara-bhūmi, balara-gaḍi,* etc. in the course of defining the boundaries of gift lands. The above equation of *bahu* with *balaru* and its interpretation as a collection of associations is further supported by our charter in which a *heggaḍe,* a *śrēshṭhin,* a *paḍavaḷa* and a *paḍihāri* figure among the joint owners of the plot of land.

---

1 *A Kissamwār Glossary of Kanarese words,* p. 169.

2 M. Williams . *Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* s.v.

3 F. Kittel : *Kannada-English Dictionary,* s.v.

4 *A Kissamwār Glossary of Kanarese words,* p. 15.

5 D.C Sircar . *Indian Epigraphical Glossary,* s.v.

Pachi-vṛitti (line 90) is another term of lexical interest. *Pachi* means 'cooking' and the whole term may therefore mean a plot of land given to a donee either for his livelihood or as a source of income for his profession as a cook.

Among **geographical** names occurring in the record, the territory *(pradēśa)* of South Kanara is once mentioned as *Tuḷu-maṇḍala* (line 13) and again as *Tauḷava-maṇḍala* (line 35). During the greater part of Vijayanagara sovereignty over South Kanara, that territory was divided into two *rājyas*, viz., Bārakūru and Maṁgaḷūru-rājyas. In a few inscriptions, both these *rājyas* are sometimes together referred to as Tuḷu-rājya.

Kukke-[0] or Kukkeya-grāma, which is stated to be attached to Kaḍaba-nagara, is the same as Subrahmaṇya (Puttur Taluk), the village which is famous for its temple dedicated to that deity. Kaḍaba-nagara is represented on the modern map by the village Kaḍaba, also in the same Taluk. When we consider the fact that Kaḍaba and Kukke are separated by a distance of over 10 miles as the crow flies, it is clear that *nagara* is used in the record, not in the sense of a town, but in the sense of a sub-division.

The other sub-divisions mentioned in the record are Edatade-janapada or deśa (lines 45 and 157) Kare-nāḍu (lines 53-54), Kaṁdūru-valaya (line 60), Kōthāraṁjada-valaya and Alpa-valaya. Of these, Eḍataḍe answers to the modern name of Yeḍtare which, however, is in the Coondapur Taluk and is, therefore, too far to the north for our purpose; Kare-nāḍu is the region around modern Kārnāḍu, Mangalore Taluk; Kaṁdūru-valaya, in all probability, was the region in and around modern Kannūru, Mangalore Taluk; Kōthāraṁjada-valaya may have been a sub-division around modern Reñjalāḍi, Puttur Taluk; Alpa-valaya is represented by the region around modern Alape, Mangalore Taluk.

The villages which are mentioned in the inscription along with their modern equivalents, if available, and the Taluks in which they are situated are given below:

Place name occurring in the record	*Modern Name*	*Taluk*
Beḷenele or Beḷunele or Veḷunele	Biḷinele	Puttur
Bhūtipālu	....	Mangalore (?)
Kaṁdūru	Kannūru	Mangalore
Eṇmūru or Eṇṇūru	Enmūru	Puttur
Kēmakānana	Kemiñja	Puttur
Chillavalli	....	....
Kukkuṁgala	Kukkala	Puttur
Kōthāraṁja	Reñjalāḍi	Puttur
Marakaṁbāḍi	Marakañja	Puttur
Putrāḍi	Puttila	Puttur
Kuṁjataṭi	Kuñjatabail	Mangalore

Place name occurring in the record	*Modern name*	*Taluk*
Sirivāgil, Siruvāgil	Shirivāgilu	Puttur
Vāgi or Vāgēya	. . . .	Puttur (?)
Baḍagere	Baḍagannūru (?)	Puttur
Perṇu	Perṇa	Puttur

It is interesting to note that, among the place names occurring in the record, Bhūtipālu is referred to as a *śūdravāṭa-valaya* (line 54), and again, a plot of land purchased from Kukku-veggaḍe is called *śūdra-vāṭa-kshētra. Vāṭa,* among other things, means 'an enclosure of a town or village'. The former expression, therefore, may be interpreted to mean that villages were partitioned into quarters on the basis of the caste of the residents. In this connection, attention may be drawn to the fact that some inscriptions of the Keḷadi rulers mention *brāhmaṇa-vāḍa* and *śūdra-vāḍa. Śūdra-vāṭa-kshētra* may pertain to those plots of lands which were owned by the residents of the *śūdra-vāṭa* of a given village.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verses 1-20, 22-25 *Anushṭubh* ; Verse 21 *Śālinī*]

First Plate : Second Side

1 Śrī-Mahāgaṇapā[2]tayē namaḥ | Namaḥ(ma)s=tuṁ-

2 ga-śiras= chuṁbi-chaṁdra-chāmara-chāravē |

3 trailōkya-nagar-āraṁbha-mūla-staṁbhāya Śaṁbhavē |[| 1 ||*] U-

4 ttuṁga-vyōma-kēśasya Gaṁgāyāś=chaṁdra-chaṁdrikā | kallō-

5 la-kara-jhātkāri chāmar-ālī=va rājatē | [| 2 ||*] Harēr-llī-

6 lā-varāhasya daṁshṭrā-daṁḍaḥ sa pātu vaḥ | hēm-ādri-kala-

7 śā yatra dhātrī chchhatra-śriyaṁ dadhau | [|3||*] Mātā-maha-ma-

---

1 From impressions.

2 Immediately after this letter is engraved the Kannaḍa numerical figure 1 indicating the number of the plate.

KUKKE (SUBRAHMANYA) GRANT OF MĀDHAVARĀJA, KALI 4488 AND ŚAKA 1309

i

ii a

K.V. Ramesh

ii b

iii a

8 hā-śailaṁ mahahsta(has-ta)d-api tām-ahaṁ kāraṇaṁ jagatāṁ vaṁdē kaṁ-

9 ṭhād=upari vāraṇaṁ(ṇam) | [| 4 ||*] Svasti-pramāṇam-ā-kalpa[ṁ*] sthāyi sthē-

10 yam=anuttamaṁ | kriyatē sarva-dharm-ānuśāsanam dharma-śāsa-

11 naṁ(nam) | [5*||] Suprītaḥ Śiva-satputraḥ Subrahmaṇyō nikētanē | Ku-

12 māra-giri-saudhē tu yōga-mūrttir=vyā(vya)vasthitaḥ | [6||*] Lōk-ānu-

13 graha-līl-ārthaṁ pradēśē Tuḷu-maṁḍalē | Kukk=ēti prathitē grā-

14 mē=para-mūrttiḥsta(rttis=ta)thā sthitaḥ | [| 7 ||*] Śēshō Brahma-ras-āsvādi-

15 sahasra-mukha-maṁḍalaḥ | nāgair-āvaraṇair=bhūtō dīpyamāna-

16 śirōmaṇiḥ | [| 8 ||*] Kalāv=ājnā-nigrahābhyām-asādhu-jana-

17 śāsitā | aśriṇvann=anṛitam vākyaṁ satya-vrata-rata-priyaḥ | [| 9 ||*]

18 Sada-saṁ(sa)nnihitaḥ kṛitvā sva-mukhaṁ brāhmaṇ-ōnmukhaṁ | sa-

19 rvaṁ brāhmaṇa-kāmāya nivēdya paritōshitaḥ | [| 10 ||*] Śākh-āṁta-

20 rē chatur-vēdē varṇṇam=ēkaṁ padaṁ svaraṁ | paṭhanāt=tu yathā śakti

21 bhakti-bhājāṁ dvi-janmanāṁ(nām) || [|11||*] Janma-janmani ch=ōddharttā ku-

22 lānām=ēka-viṁśatiṁ | tatra snāna-vrat-ōpāsair=manōratha-

23 phala-pradaḥ | [| 12 ||*] Vēda-pāraṁgatair=vipraiḥ sēvitaḥ śri(śru)ti-chōditaḥ

24 rasō vai brahma-nādēna pārāyaṇa-para-priyaḥ | [| 13 ||*] Ityākkyā-

25 na-purāṇēsh-Ūmāmahēśa-mukh-ōditaṁ | śri(śru)tvā=tha dāna-śauṁ-

Second Plate : First Side

26 ḍa-śrī-Mādhavāryyō mahīpatiḥ | [| 14 ||*] Śrīmad=Gōvāpur-ādhīśaḥ

27 kshapit-ārāti-maṁḍalaḥ | Śaṁkha-dvīpē=tha paryyāyāt=Saptanā-

28 tha-pratishṭhitēḥ(taḥ) |[| 15 ||*] Agha-ghnam-āśu-kāmārthaṁ dharma-lōbhāt= pravarttitaḥ | gaj-ē-

29 bh-ābdhi-yuge=tite Kali-varshē tathā punaḥ | [| 16 ||*] Grahāmbar-āgni-śītāṁśau vyatītē

30 'Saka-vatsarē | varttamānasya varshasya Prabhav-ākhyasya māsy=api |[| 17 ||*] Paushē pakshē

31 tathā kṛishṇē tṛitīyāyāṁ Bhṛigōr=ddinē | bāṇa-tritaya-raṁdhr-āgni-guṇa-kh-ēṁdau dinē

32 gatē | [| 18 ||*] Nakshatrē=py=Uttarāshāḍhē Yōgē ch=Āyushmad=āhvayē | karaṇē Bālavē chaṁḍa-

33 kiraṇē Makarē sthitē | [| 19 ||*] It=īdṛiśē puṇya-kālē śrīmat=Triyaṁ[1]baka-saṁ(sa)nni dhau | Su-

34 brahmaṇyasya pūjāyai brāhmaṇēbhyaś=cha mēdinīṁ(nīm) | [| 20 ||*] Sāṁgaṁ prādād=yathā so=yaṁ pra-

35 kārō vivarī(ri)shyatē | Tad=yathā | Sakala-jagat-prasiddha-Taulava-maṁḍal-ōpāṁ-

36 ta-varttini Kaḍab=ākhya nagar-ānubaṁdhini Kukkeya-grāmē tad=grām=ādhīśvara-

37 sy=Ēśvara-par-āvatārasya śrīmataḥ Subrahmaṇyadēvasya dētā(vā)lay-ōttar-āṁkaṇā-

38 d=udīchyāṁ tad=uttara-dvāra-mārgāt=pūrvasyāṁ tad=uttar-āśvatth-ālavāla-baṁ-dhād=dakshi-

39 ṇasyāṁ | tad=agra-pūjā-pūg-ārāmāt=pratīchyāṁ diśi varttamānāyāṁ tat=kāla-sa-

40 muchita-kraya-mūlyēna tasmād=dēvadēvāt=sa-hiraṇy-ōdaka-kraya-dāna-dhārā-pū-

41 rvakaṁ gṛihītāyām=agraśālāyāṁ pratyahaṁ parivarttyamānānāṁ nānā-vi-

42 dhānām tad=dēvasya naivēdya-nivēdan-ādīnām nānā-dharmāṇām nirvāhāya ni-

43 mitta-bhūta-bahv-artha-sampatti-nidānānāṁ nānā-grāmēshu krītānāṁ sa-gṛiha-

---

1 There is also a subscript *y* sign and a stroke on the letter *yaṁ* which looks like a cancellation mark. The engraver seems to have tried to correct the expression as *Śrīmat=Tryambaka*.

44 kshētrāṇāṁ vivaraṇaṁ | tatr=ādāv=agraśālā-pariśara-kramuk-ākarāt=pra-

45 tivatsaram=uttishṭhamān=ākara[ḥ*] shaṇ-nishkī | tadvad=Edetadey-ākhya-janapad-āṁtarga-

46 [tē] Beḷeneley-ākhyē Kukku-veggaḍēna[1] kṛita śūdra-vāṭa-kshētrē kētakī-srōtasa-

47 s=cha Kṛishṇadēva-kēdāra-pūrva-parvata-jala-mukhāch=cha prāk | Dummaṇa-Bācha-nasya kshē-

48 trād=adhastan-ākṛitrima-prastarād=a[r*]vāk Kukkēśvara-dēvasvāt=pratyak tad=dēvasya

49 kshētra-prāṁta-plaksha-kshētra-vṛikshābhyāṁ a[r*]vāchīna-parvatīya-jala-mukhāch=cha pratyak

50 dakshiṇa-parvatīya-jala-mukhēna saha udak iti chatuḥ sīm-āṁtargata-tad=dēva-

51 sthāna-kāṁsyamānī-mānēna paṁcha-chatvāriṁśatā parimita-dvādaśa-mūḍ-āva[ch]chhinna—

52 bījāvāpa-yōgyaṁ dvi-sasya-kshētraṁ Kukke-veggaḍāt-krītaṁ | asmāt=kshētrāt=prativatsa-

53 ram=utpadyamānaṁ tan=mānēna paṁchāśan=mūḍ-āvachchhinnaṁ śāli-dhānyaṁ || || punaḥ Ka-

54 rē-nāḍ-āṁtargata Bhū[ti][2]pāl-ākhya śūdra-vāṭasya valayē jala-sāraṇītaḥ pratyak Kēma-

55 kānanād=udak Chillavallī-saṁdhēḥ prāk rāja-mārggād=āmra-vanā(nā)ch=ch=ā[r*]vāk iti cha-

56 tuḥ sīmā-samanvitaṁmē(tam=ē)ka-chatvāriṁśan-mūḍa-bījāvā[pa*]-paryyāptaṁ Samartha-kē-

57 mana-baḷiya Ukku-nāyaka Chilla-baḷiya Datta-maiṁda Barīya-Vīru-mēraṁtā-

---

1 The letter *ta* was first engraved and then corrected to *na*.

2 The letter *ni* was originally engraved and then corrected to *ti*.

58 bhyāṁ cha pūrvavat=krayēṇa gṛihītaṁ kshētraṁ | tasmāt=prativarsham=utpadya-
mānam

Second Plate Second Side

59 Chatuḥ shashṭy=adhikaṁ mūḍānāṁ[1] śataṁ |[2] śāli-dhānyaṁ || – || bhū-

60 yaḥ Kaṁḍūru-valayē Kukkayadēva-dēvasvāt=pratyak | kāryyada-ve-

61 ggaḍeya kuṁja-nīra-mukhād=udak Baṁkiyaṁ(ya)ṇṇa-bhāgīyān=nīra-

62 mukhāt=prāk | aḍuka-mārgād=a[r*]vāk | īśāny-āśvatthāt=paśchima-Kaṁḍūru-kā-

63 nana-sadhī(mī)chīnaṁ iti chatuḥ sīmā-samanvitaṁ yad=bahusvāmikaṁ kshētraṁ |
tatra

64 kāryya-heggaḍe-purushād=ashṭau Vedali Kuṁmma(ma)tat=sārddha-shaṭṭ |
Kuṁmma(ma)ta-śrēshṭhinaḥ

65 sapta paḍavala Kōṭitaḥ sārdhāḥ(dhā)s=tisraḥ | paḍihāra Baṁki[yaṇ*]ṇāch=chatur-
ddaśa ēva-

66 m=ēkō-na-chatvāriṁśan=mūḍikā bījāvāpa-paryyāptaṁ(pta)m=uktēbhyaḥ krītaṁ
dvi-sasya-

67 kshētraṁ | tammā(smā)t=prativarsham=utpadyamānaṁ chatuḥ shashṭy=adhikaṁ
mūḍikānāṁ śataṁ

68 śāli-dhānyaṁ | punaḥ(na)s=tad=anubaṁdhi-tat=srōtasō vā pratyak cha Yadamuna-
kuṁjā-

69 d=udak | amēya-vāgila-jala-kulyāt=prāg=iti chatuḥ(tu)s=sīmā-samanvitaṁ

70 Kukkuṁgalay-āḍuka-saṁjñam ākara-sthalam | tathā Kōṭhāraṁjada valaya aṁ-

71 mma(ma)chabaṁkēṇa-kshētrāt=pratyak | kāryyada-heggaḍe Vedali-kuṁmma(ma)ta-
Ko-

---

1 Immediately after this letter the Kannada numerical figure 2 is engraved indicating the number of the plate.

2 This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

72 rratīnāṁ kshētrād=udak | Marakaṁbāḍiya vaprāt=prāk | Putrādiya Madana-nā-

73 yaka-parikhātō=rvāk | iti chatuḥ(tu)s=sīmā-samanvitaṁ yat=kshētraṁ | ta-

74 tra Kēma[r]ōḥ sapta-viṁśatiḥ kāryyada-heggaḍitaḥ paṁcha Maṁju-heggaḍe-

75 tō dvādaśa Mittilādeḍamōḥ daśa ēvaṁ dvi-sasyaṁ kshētraṁ chatuḥ paṁchāśan=
mūḍi-

76 kā-bījāvāpa-paryyāptaṁ uktēbhyaḥ krītaṁ tasmād=vatsaram=utpadyā(dya)-

77 [1]mānaṁ chaturddaś-ādhikaṁ dviśataṁ mūḍikānāṁ śāli-dhānyaṁ | tathā Alpe-valaye

78 Kukkēśvara-dēvasva-beṁdaleya-kēdārēṇa saha prāk | Koratiya kuṁjād-a[r*]vāk |
kaleya-

79 tta Kukkaya-dēvasvāt=pratyak | punaḥ(na)s=tatr=aiva- Korati-kshētrāt Kukkēśvara-
kshētrād=arvāk

80 kāryyadavara kuṁjāt=pratyak | Kukkēśvara-kshētrād=udak | jala-srōtasaḥ(sa)mtū
(s=t=ū)daka-

81 [ve]ḍala-kuṁmma(ma)tt-āḍukāt=prāk | Korabana badar=udak | Kukkēśvara-kuṁ-
jāt=prāk |

82 iti chatuḥ sīm-ā[ṁ*]taḥpatitānāṁ mūḍikānāṁ vivaraṇaṁ Paṁji-kēmanāch=chatvāri

83 kāryya-heggaḍetaḥ s-ārddhaṁ daśa | tasy-aika-sasyāch=chatvāri Ukkōḥ(kkō)s=trīṇi
punaḥ(na)s=ta-

84 syās=tv=ēka-sasya-kshētrā[d*]=dvē | Karmina-heggaḍetō dvē Beḍali-kuṁmma(ma)-
ttād-ēka-sasya-

85 kshētrā[d*] dvē | Nagiraṁṇṇ(ṇē)na Kukkēśvarāya datta beṁḍaleya kshētrē
bījāvāpāmāṁ(nāṁ) mūḍikā-

86 nāṁ traya(yā)ṇāṁ vyatyayēna Eṇmūra-heggaḍād=avāptē mūḍikā dvē | Veḍali-
kumma-

---

1 The letter *ma* was originally engraved and then, there being no space for the medial *a* sign, it was struck off.

87 tād=ēka-sasya-nī(bī)jāvāpa-ma(mū)ḍikābhyāṁ dattaṁ dvi-sasyam=ēka-mūḍikā-paryyāptaṁ

88 itthaṁ mūḍikā-parivarttanēma(na) tad-beṁḍali-kshētraṁ kṛītē | Eṇmūra-heggaḍi-taḥ krī-

89 tāsu s-ārdha-dvādaśa-mūḍikāsu madhyād=beṁḍali-kshētrārtthaṁ pachi-vṛityā dattē-

90 na mūḍikā dvayēna vinā mūḍikā s-ārdhā(rdha)dā(da)śa Beṁḍali-kuṁmatāmmū (n=mū)ḍi-

Third Plate . First Side

91 kē dvē ēka-sa[1]sya-kshētrāch=cha dvē | ēvaṁ mūḍikā-chatushṭayē beṁḍali-kshētra-

92 nimittaṁ mūḍikā-dvayaṁ datvā avaśishṭa-mūḍikā-dvitayaṁ Bī-

93 ra-kukkāt-krītaṁ mūḍikā-chatushṭayaṁ [ba]ṇṇada Cheṁnna(nā)n=mūḍikā- dvayaṁ | | itthaṁ beṁḍa-

94 la-kshētrēṇa saha bījāvāpa-paryāptānāṁ paṁcha-chatvāriṁśammū(n=mū)ḍikā-

95 nām-utpanna-karaḥ | prativarshaṁ dvi-sasya-mūḍikānām-ashṭa-shashṭhy- adhika-

96 śataṁ śāli-dhānyaṁ | tathā Kuṁjataṭēr=aṁtargatā Chaṭṭādi-kshētrasya chatuḥ sīmā vi-

97 varaṇaṁ | Temmūra Kuṁmaṭa[2] -srēshṭhinaḥ kshētrāt=prāk | Eṇṇūra Kuṁja-veggaḍa-kshē-

98 trāt-prāk=cha | Kuṁja-parvata-jalamukhād-a[r*]vāk | sthāpita-pāshāṇāt=pratyak |

99 Parivāradēva-kshētrāt=pratyak=cha | Parivāradēva-kuṁja-vaprād=udak | iti cha-

100 tuḥ sīmā-samanvitē kshētrē bījāvāpa-paryāpta-mūḍikānāṁ vivaraṇaṁ |

101 Eṇṇūra-veggaḍād= ash(shṭā)daśa | tasmād=ēva ēka-sasyaṁ | ashṭau Kēmarō-

---

1 The letter *sa* is engraved above the line.

2 The letter *na* was written first and then corrected to *ṭa*.

102 ś=chatvāri | iti mūḍikānāṁ triṁśatāṁ āgāmī-karaḥ || prativatsa-

103 raṁ dvi-sasyasya mūḍikānāṁ chatuḥ śataṁ śāli-dhānyaṁ | itthaṁ kṛitēshu sa-

104 pta-grāmēshu pratyēka-mūḍikāyās=tad=dēvasya kāṁsyamānēna paṁcha-cha-

105 tvāriṁśad =gaṇanayā parimāṇa klṛiptiḥ | prativarshaṁ dvi-sasyasya

106 bījāvāpa-pparyāptā ēka-viṁśaty-adhika-dvi-śata-mūḍikāḥ ||

107 tad-ēvaṁ nānā-kshētrēbhyaḥ praty-abdam=agraśālāṁ praty-āgāmi shaṭshashṭy=a-

108 shṭhi(dhi)k-āshṭaśatī mūḍikā dhānyaṁ | tathā ka[rō]shaṇ -ṇishkī ch=ādāyaḥ [|*] Subra-

109 hmaṇyanāthasya paṁdīraḍī=ti prasiddha-saṁgava-kāla-pūj-ārthaṁ prati-

110 dinaṁ ēka Rudra-pūjā brāhmaṇ-ārthaṁ naivēdy-ārthaṁ cha pāṁcha-pāṇī-taṁ-ḍula-

111 parikalpanayā prativatsaraṁ viṁśaty-uttaraṁ mūḍikānāṁ śataṁ | Dēva-

112 tā-naivēdya-Rudra-pūjā-brāhmaṇa-bhōjan-ā[gni] -ghāra[1] -ghṛit-ārthaṁ chatustriṁ-

113 śan=mūḍikā|Rudra-pūjā brāhmaṇa-dēvatā-tāṁbūla-yugal-ārthaṁ mū-

114 ḍikā-trayaṁ | gaṁdha-pushpa-dhūpa-dīp-ārthaṁ mūḍikā s-āshṭaṁ | Dēvasya pu-

115 ratō=jasra-dīp-ārthaṁ shaṭ-triṁśan=mūḍikā|| ēvaṁ saṁbhūya prativa-

116 tsaraṁ dēva-pūjā-Rudra-pūjā-brāhmaṇa-bhōjan-ārthaṁ cha mūḍikānāṁ dvi-

117 śatī | Vēda-pārāyaṇa-brāhmaṇasya āsan-āchchhādana-dakshiṇ-ā-

118 rthaṁ prati-māsaṁ ashṭa-mūḍikā-kalpanayā prativarshaṁ shaṇṇavati mū-

119 ḍikā jīvikā | tām=ēnāṁ jīvikām=ādāya tēna pratimāsaṁ

120 pārāyaṇa-chatushṭaya-kalpanayā prati-vatsaram ashṭa- chatvāriṁśad-Vēda-

---

1 Read *bhōjan-āgni-kārya.*

121 pārāyaṇāni karttavyāni | prati-dinaṁ agraśālāyāṁ dvādaśa-

Third Plate : Second Side

122 brāhmaṇa-bhōjan-ārthaṁ taṁḍulā[1]nāṁ dēvasya kāṁsyamānyā[d*]=dvā-

123 daśa | ētat-kalpanayā prati-māsaṁ(sa)m=ashṭau taṁḍula-mūḍi-

124 kā | kāsāṁ prakri[p]tir=viṁśati śāli-mūḍikā | tāsām=avapa-

125 tanis=tushīkaraṇ-ārthaṁ chatasrō mūḍikā | ēvaṁ prati-māsaṁ chaturviṁ-

126 śati mūḍikā | punaḥ prati-dina-brāhmaṇa-bhōjya-pāk-ārthaṁ iṁdhana-

127 . . rthaṁ tāram=ēkaṁ | mudg-ārthaṁ tāra-dvayaṁ | phala-śāka-paṁchak-ārthaṁ s-ārddha-

128 tāra-dvayaṁ | lavaṇ-āmra-māricha-jīraka-haridrā-rāmaṭh-ārthaṁ tāra-dvayaṁ | ta-

129 kr-ārthaṁ tāra-dvayaṁ | dvādaśa-tāṁbūl-ārthaṁ tāram=ēkaṁ | ēvaṁ prati-māsaṁ paṁcha-

130 daś-ādhika-tāra-tri[ṁ]śatyā s-ārdha-nishka-chatushkaṁ | punaḥ prati-dinaṁ kāṁsya-

131 prasṛiti-dvaya-parimāṇēna prati-māsaṁ shashṭi-prasṛitayaḥ | chatuḥ prasṛi-

132 ty-ātmaka kāṁsya-pā(mā)nī-paṁcha-daśa-ghṛitaṁ | tasya mūlyaṁ s-ārdhaṁ nishka-dva-

133 yaṁ | ēvam=ubhayathā prati-māsaṁ sapta-nishki | tad=arthaṁ ēka-viṁśati-vrīhi-

134 mūḍikā | pāchakasy=ēkādaśy-upavāsa-kāraṇād-avaśishṭa-

135 taṁḍulaiḥ s-ārddhaṁ ākarōttha shaṇ-ṇishkī jīvikā [|*] prati-va-

136 rshaṁ jīrṇṇāyāḥ śālāyā[ḥ*] navīkaraṇ-ārthaṁ triṁśan-mūḍikā [|*]

---

1 Immediately following this letter the Kannaḍa numerical figure 3 is engraved indicating the number of the plate.

KUKKE (SUBRAHMANYA) GRANT OF MADHAVARĀJA, KALI 4488 AND ŚAKA 1309

PLATE II

iii b

iv a

K. V. Ramesh

iv b

137 ēvaṁ nānā-kshētrēsh-ūtpaṁ(pa)nna-śāli-dhānyasya dharma-vyaya-vivaraṇaṁ [|]

138 tatra Subrahmaṇyanāthasya naivēdy-ādi shōḍaś-ōpacharāṇāṁ

139 mūḍikānāṁ dvi-śataṁ | Vēda-pārāyaṇ-ārthāṁ mūḍikānāṁ sha-

140 ṇṇavatiḥ | satrasya prati-dinaṁ dvādaśa-brāhmaṇa-bhōṁ(bhō)jan-ā-

141 rthaṁ chatvāriṁśad-adhikaṁ paṁcha-śataṁ mūḍikānāṁ | agra-śālā-

142 yāṁ nikshēp-ārthaṁ mūḍikānāṁ triṁśat | satra-pāchakasya jīvi-

143 k-ārthaṁ tatratyaṁ nishka-shaṭkaṁ | sa(ē)vaṁ sarva-dharma-vyay-ārtthaṁ prati-

144 vatsaraṁ mūḍikānāṁ shatshashty-adhikam-ashṭa-śataṁ tatratyaṁ ni-

145 shka-shaṭkaṁ cha | Subrahmaṇyadēvasya datt-ōpakaraṇānāṁ vivara-

146 ṇaṁ | kāṁśya-mayō dīpa-staṁbha ēkaḥ | ēkā tripadī | ēkaṁ nai-

147 vēdya-bhājanaṁ | tāmra-mayaḥ pāk-ārtham-ēkō ghaṭaḥ || satr-āgāra datt-ōp a-

148 karaṇāni | tāṁ(tā)mra-maṇikaḥ(ka)s=tv=ēkaḥ | kaṭāhaḥ(ha)s=tv=ēkaḥ | taṁḍula-śōdhan-ā-

149 rthaṁ pātraṁ=ēkaṁ | tāṁ(tā)mra-darvy=ēkā | jala-pātram=ēkaṁ | brāhmaṇa-bhōjan-ā-

150 rthaṁ dōgdhyō mahishyaḥ shaṭ | iti dēta(va)sya dharm-ārthaṁ cha datt-ōpa-karaṇāni |

Fourth Plate : First Side

151 tatr=aiva Subrahmaṇya-kshētrē punar=Upanishan-mārga-

152 pravartak-āchāryyēṇa Mādhav-āryyēṇa Subrahmaṇy-ōtsa-

153 v-ārthaṁ kṛitam dharm-āṁtaraṁ | tatha prati-saṁvatsaraṁ Vṛiśchika-saṁ-

154 krāṁtēḥ śuddha tṛitīyāyāṁ Subrahmaṇyadēva-yātrāyaṁ dvātriṁśad-grāma-mu-

155 khyēbhyo nānā-viśishṭa-grāmēbhyō nānā-digaṁtēbhyaś=cha samāga-

156 tya Subrahmaṇya-shashṭhī-mahōtsavē militānāṁ brāhmaṇānāṁ bhō-

157 jan-ārthaṁ Yeḍetaḍey-ākhya dēś-āṁtargata- Beḷuneleya Kukku-veggaḍitaḥ

158 Kuṁjataṭi Birumaṁ (ma)ṇṇa-veggaḍitaḥ(ta) ś=cha krīta Beḷuneley -āṁtargata-bhūmēḥ(mē) -

159 s=chatuḥsīmā- vivaraṇaṁ | Dummana-kshētrād-a[r*] vāk | Perṇṇu Ukku-veggaḍe Amē-

160 ya Baṭṭaladēvaru Ukku-veggaḍe Vīrakānanaṁ ity=uktānāṁ prajānāṁ kshētrē-

161 bhyaḥ pratyak | dakshiṇa-taṭāk-ōdakēna saha dakshiṇa-kuṁjād=udak | ta-

162 t=taṭāka-pārśvatō jala-nissaraṇa-samīpasth-ākṛitrima-pāshāṇāt=pū-

163 rva-parvata-jalamukhēna saha prāk | Dummasya parisā(khā)tō=[r*] vāk | iti cha-

164 tuḥ sīm-āṁtargata-panas-āmra-kramuk-ādi vṛikshaiḥ saha ashṭa-mūḍikā bījā-

165 vāpa-paryyāptaṁ dvi-sasyam kshētraṁ | tasmāt=prativarsham=utpadyamānā dēvasya

166 kā[ṁ*]syamānīmānānāṁ paṁcha-chatvāriṁsat-sa[ṁ*]khyayā -paryyāptāḥ tri-[ṁ*]śa-

167 n-mūḍikāḥ tatratya-nishka-paṁchakaiḥ saha | punaḥ Sirivāgil-Ājila-

168 Maddēna datta Baḍagerray-ākhya-grāma- -bhūmē [sa(ś=cha)] tuḥ -sīmā-vivaraṇaṁ pū-

169 rva-parvata-jalamukhēna saha pratyag=a[r*] vāk Giṁmma(ma)-kshētra-sthapita-pā=

170 shāṇād=udak | paśchima-parvata-jalamukhāt=prāk | Uttara-parvata-ja-

171 lamukhād=a[r*] vāk | ēvaṁ chatuḥ sīm-āṁtargata-kuṁj-āmra-panasaka-kramuk-ā-

172 di vṛikshaiḥ saha ēkādaśa mūḍikā bījāvāpa-paryyāptaṁ dvi-sasyaṁ kshē-

173 traṁ | tasmāt=prati-varshaṁ=utpadyamānaṁ mūḍikānāṁ shōḍaśa-śāli-dhā-

174 nyaṁ karaḥ(ra)s=tatratya nishkānāṁ sapta cha | Sirivāgil-ākhya-grāma-kumbhā-

175 rra-Mudiya-Beḷḷi-seṭṭibhyāṁ datta Bāgeya--grām-āṁtargatē(ta)-Aṁḍeya vairīya-bhū-

176 mēr=vivaraṇaṁ । pūrva-va(pa)rvata-jalamukhēna saha pratyak । dakshiṇ-ā[ḍuka]-

177 [ta]ḥ spṛishṭha-parvata-jalamukhēna sah=ōdak । Kukkana-kēnēḥ prāg-u

178 dak । chatuḥ sīm-āṁtargata-parva-aḍuka-kuṁjād=a[r*]vāk । iti

179 ta-kuṁja-kramuk-āmra-panasa-maricha-kānanaiḥ saha sapta-mū-

180 ḍikā-bījāvāpa-paryyāptaṁ dvi-sasyaṁ kshētraṁ tasmāt=prati-varsham-u-

Fourth Plate : Second Side

181 tpadyamānaṁ shōḍaśa[1] mūḍikā-paryyāptaṁ śāli-

182 dhānyaṁ । tatratya nishkāṇi chatvāri । tadanu Si

183 ruvāgila-kumbārra-Mudiya-Beḷḷi-seṭṭibhyā[ṁ]

184 datta Vāgi-grām-āṁtargata-Dēsukukkīya-bhūmēś-chatuḥ(tu) s=sīmā-

185 vivaraṇaṁ । udak-sthita-srōtasaḥ sētōr=a[r*]vāk । tasmāt=srō-

186 tasaḥ pratyak । tasmach=ch=ōdak । parikhātaḥ prāk । iti cha-

187 tuḥ sīm-āṁtargat-āḍuka-kramuk-āmra-panas-ādi-vṛikshaiḥ saha

188 shōḍaśa-mūḍikā-bījāvāpa-paryyāptaṁ dvi-sasyaṁ kshētraṁ । ta-

189 smāt=prati-varsham-utpadyamānaṁ dvātriṁśan-mūḍikā-paryyā-

190 ptaṁ śāli-dhānyaṁ । tatratyānāṁ nishkāṇāṁ sapta ity=ēshu tri-

191 shu grāmēshu bījāvāpa-yōgyānāṁ mūḍikānāṁ paṁcha-chatvā-

192 riṁśatāṁ mūḍikānāṁ prati-varsh-ōtpaṁ(tpa)nna-dvi-sasya-mūḍi-

193 kānāṁ shaṇṇavatiḥ । tatratyāni nishkāṇi trayōviṁśa-

194 tiḥ । ētat=sarvaṁ dvātriṁśad-grāmastha-brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ utsavā-

195 y-āgata-brāhmaṇēbhyaś=cha Vṛiśchika-māsa-tṛitīyāyāṁ Su-

---

1 Immediately following this letter Kannaḍa numerical figure for 4 is engraved indicating the number of the plate.

196 brāhmaṇya-mahōtsavē brāhmaṇa-bhōjan-ārthaṁ dattaṁ [|*] ēvaṁ Su-

197 brahmaṇyadēvasya dharm-ārtha-vrīhi-bhūmēḥ (mē)s=tat-kāl-ōchita-kraya-

198 mauṁ(mau)lya-pradāna-samayē dvātriṁśad-grāma-mukhyāḥ(khyā) s=tad=dēva p[ā]-

199 da-mūlinaḥ(na)ṣ =tat kshētra-svāmibhyaḥ sarva-bādhā-parihār-ā-

200 rthaṁ dhanaṁ dāpayitvā tad=dēvasya purataḥ(ta) s=ta . . Mādhava-rā-

201 jāya sa-hiraṇy-ōdaka-dāna-dhārāṁ dāpāyitvā sarva-dharma-

202 sya sarva-bādhā-parihāraṁ yathā bhavati tath=aiva kurma i-

203 ti śapathaṁ chakruḥ | tasmāt=tasyā bhūmē rāja-kara-rā-

204 j-ōtsava-yāñchhy-ādi bādhā na saṁti [|*] tasṁād-rājā

205 dvātriṁśad-grāma-mımukhyāḥ(khyā)s=tad=dēśīyāḥ prajā ēvaṁ dharma-

Fifth Plate

206 m-ā-chaṁdr-ārkka-sthāyinaṁ karttum=arhaṁti tasmā-

207 d=ēsha dharmaḥ (rma)s=tv=ā-chaṁdra-tārakaṁ sarvaiḥ pālanī-

208 yaḥ | ētasminn=arthē śrī-Rāma-vākyaṁ darśayati | Sāmā-

209 nyō=yam dharma-sētur-nṛipāṇāṁ kālē-kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhi-

210 ḥ | sarvān=ētān bhāvinaḥ pārthivēndrān bhūyō bhūyō yā-

211 chatē Rāmachaṁdraḥ | [| 22 ||*] Dāna-pālanayā(yō)r=madhyē dānāt-śrēyō=nupā-

212 lanaṁ(nam) | dānāt=svargam=avāpnōti pālanād=achyutaṁ padaṁ(dam) | [| 21 ||*] Ēk=ai-

213 va bhaṁ(bha)ginī lōkē sarvēshāṁ=ēva bhūbhujāṁ(jām) | na bhōjyā na kara-grā-

214 hyā vipra-dattā vasuṁdharā | [| 23 ||*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁ-

215 dharāṁ(rām) shashṭir=varsha sahasrāṇi vishṭāyām jāyatē krimiḥ | [| 24 ||*]

216 Sva-dattā[d*]=dvi-guṇaṁ puṇyaṁ para-datt-ānupālanaṁ(nam) | para-datt-āpa-

217 hārēṇa svadattaṁ nishphalaṁ bhavēt | [| 25 ||*] Asyāḥ dharma-śāsa-

218 na-patrikāyāḥ(yā) s=tasy=aiv-ōpanishan-mārga-pravarttak-āchāryya-

219 sya bahu-vidha-saparyyā-pratyakshīkṛita-śaśāṁka-śēkharasya

220 pratāp-akrāṁta-vairi-vrajasya Śaṁkha-dvīpa-pratishṭhāpita-Sa-

221 ptanāthasya śrīman-Mādhvapatēḥ sv-ēshṭa-liṁga-Triyaṁbaka-

222 sam(sa)nnidhau sva-hasta-likhitāny=aksharāṇi | śrī śrī śrī ||

223 śrī Triyaṁbaka ||[1]

1 Engraved in Kannaḍa characters.

NO. 14 – PULIVARRU GRANT OF AMMARĀJA (I)

(2 Plates)

C.A. Padmanabha Sastry, Mysore

This copper-plate inscription is stated to have been received from the Tahsildar of Tenali Taluk, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. The other details regarding its actual findspot are not available. This charter, which has been registered in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1923-24 as No. A 3, is edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

The set consists of five copper-plates, each measuring 19.5 cms long and 8.3 cms broad. The plates are very thin and a piece at the right top corner of the last plate is broken off and lost. The first and fifth plates are engraved only on the inner sides while the middle three plates carry writing on both sides. All the plates have their rims raised on both sides. The plates are strung to a copper ring measuring about 9.5 cms in diameter, which passes through a hole bored on the left centre of each plate about 2.8 cms away from the edge. This ring is firmly attached to a circular copper-seal fixed on to a flowery bracket on the back. The seal bears on its counter sunk surface the figures of the sun and cresent, a running boar *(Varāha)* and an *aṅkuśa* in its front. Below these symbols is engraved the legend *śrī-Tribhuvanāṁkuśa* and below the legend a lotus of eight petals. The seal is about 6.3 cms in diameter. The five plates together with the ring and seal weigh about 1,108 gms.

This grant contains in all 56 lines. The writing, on the whole, is well preserved except on the top right corner of the last plate which is damaged. The characters of these undated plates belong to the Telugu-Kannaḍa variety of the 9th century A.D. usually met with in the other copper-plate inscriptions of Amma I like the Masulipatnam[1] and Chēvūru[2] plates. However, a difference is noticeable, particularly in the mode of engraving the letters. In some cases the medial *ā* is indicated by a vertical line drawn on the top of the letter as can be seen in lines 2, 4, etc. It is interesting to note that the medial *ī* is indicated by a dot engraved in the centre of the sign for medial *i*.

The following orthographical features can be noticed in the record. The doubling of the consonant following *rēpha* is observed in the words *mūrttēḥ* (lines 22-23, 43), *sarvva* (lines 30, 46); *pūrvvātaḥ* (line 47) and *karttavya* (line 50). The charter contains a few spelling mistakes which are duly corrected while editing the text.

The language of the record is Sanskrit, written in verse and prose with a good sprinkling of Telugu place-names in the context of describing the boundaries of the gift-village.

---

1 Above, Vol. V, pp. 131 ff. and plates.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 41 ff. and plates.

The inscription records the gift of a village called **Pulivarru**, situated in the Velanāndu-vishaya, after making it tax-free, to **Indaparāja**, the son of Rattiya and Gōindakāṁbā and grandson of Indaparāja of the Mahāratta family *(Mahāratta-vaṁśajaḥ)* and the lord of Mānyakhēta *(Mānyakēt-ādhipatiḥ)*..

The record opens with the usual *praśasti* of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty (lines 1-18). It gives a list of kings commencing from Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, the founder of the dynasty, down to Ammarāja I, the donor, along with their reign periods as already known to us from some of the Eastern Chālukya charters. The first verse (lines 19-22) describes the king Vijayāditya (IV), son of Chālukya Bhīma (I) as having conquered 'the East' *(vāsavīṁ jitv=āśāṁ)* i.e. the coastal region of the Āndhra country and set up a pillar of victory at Virajā. The next verse (verse 2; lines 22-24) introduces the donor-king Ammarāja I, who was born to Vijayāditya (IV) and Pallavamahādēvī as Kumāra was born to *Śaśi-mauli* (i.e. Śiva) and Umā. The next two verses (verses 3-4; lines 25-30) describe the greatness of the king in general terms. This is followed by the statement (lines 30-34) that Sarvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvardhana-mahārājādhirāja, (i.e. Amma I), endowed with the imperial titles, addressed his message to the residents of Velanāndu-vishaya headed by the *rāshṭrakūṭas.*

This is followed by the introduction of the chief Indaparāja (I) (verse 5; lines 34-36) who is described as the lord of Mānyakhēta and to have belonged to the family of Mahāratta *i.e.*, Rāshṭrakūṭa. He is stated to be the worshipper of the god Śaṁkara. His son was Rattiya, whose wife was Gōindakāṁbā (lines 37-40). Lines 40-44 introduce the donee Indaparāja (II) who was born to Rattiya and Gōindakāṁbā. He is compared to Shanmukha, the son of Umā and Īśa, to Jayanta, son of Śachī and Indra, and to Anaṁga, son of Upēndra and Lakshmī. In a passage couched in double entendre he is compared with the twins Nakula and Sahadēva in following Dharma (righteousness in his case and Dharamarāja or Yudhishthira in the case of the twins), as being famous all over Bhārata as an expert in all laws *(sarva-dharma)* even as Dharmarāja was famous in the Bhārata (i.e. *Mahābhārata*), as being the head of the army which had defeated unconquerable enemies *(duryōdhan-āri)* even as Dharmarāja was the head of the army against Duryōdhana. Lines 44-46 contain the grant portion according to which the king Ammarāja (I) gave away the village Pulivarru, making it free from taxes (probably as a fief), to Indaparāja (II). Then the inscription delineates the boundaries of the gift-village (lines 47-49). This is followed (lines 49-55) by the customary imprecatory verses. In the concluding part of the charter (lines 55-56) it is stated that the grant was executed by Kattārāja while the record was composed and written by Mahākāla-bhatta and Jāntāchārya respectively. Both Mahākāla-bhatta and Jāntāchārya are already known to us in the same capacity from some other Eastern Chālukya charters. The Chēvūru plates of Amma I[1] refer to Mahākāla-bhatta while Jāntāchārya is referred to as Jontāchārya in th plates[2] of Amma II.

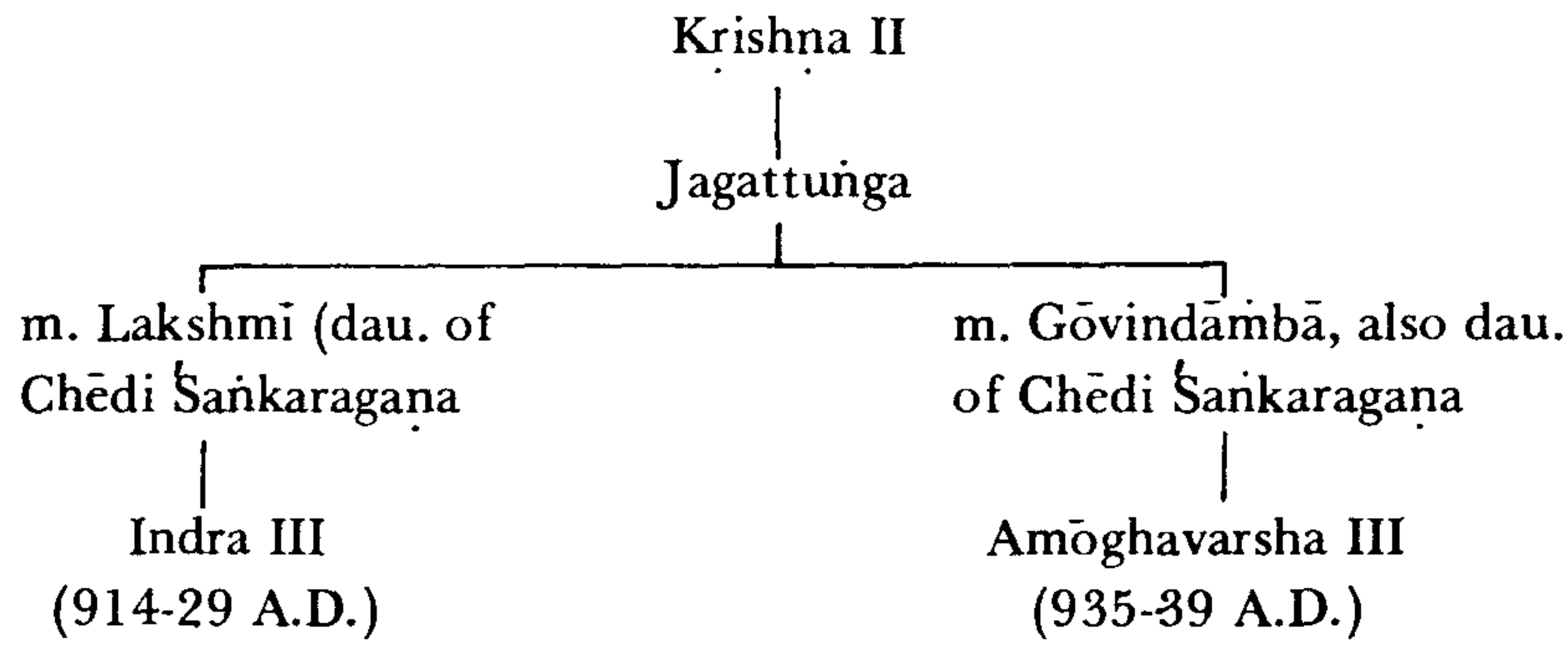
---

1 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 41 ff. and plates.

2 *J A H R.S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 195 ff. and plates.

Our inscription furnishes the genealogy and other details of the donee Indaparāja (II). His grandfather was Indaparāja (I) who belonged to the family of Mahāraṭṭa and was the lord of Mānyakhēṭa. D.C. Ganguly[1] identified Indaparāja (II) of our grant with the son of Amōghavarsha II, and the grandson of Indra III of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty. According to him when Amōghavarsha II was overthrown by Gōvinda IV, his family took shelter under Amma I. This view goes against the settled chronology of these rulers. For, while D.C. Ganguly says that Amōghavarsha II took shelter under Amma I after he was overthrown, we know that Amma I had ended his reign in 927 A.D. itself, even before Amōgavarsha II lost his throne in 930 A.D.

A recourse to the Paṅgarikā[2] grant of Amōghavarsha III helps us in offering a better interpretation. The genealogical details given in this grant may be tabulated as follows:



On the strength of the known dates of Amōghavarsha III and Amma I we propose here to identify Indaparāja (II) of our record with Amōghavarsha III of the Paṅgarikā grant. This identification rests chiefly on the fact that the name of the mother of Amōghavarsha III and of Indaparāja (II) is identical. Our identification, however, leads to the conclusion that Kṛishṇa II and Jagattuṅga were also known by the names of Indaparāja (I) and Raṭṭiya respectively for which there is no direct supporting evidence. In the case of Kṛishṇa II, on the strength of the well established Hindu tradition of naming a child after its grandfather, we may reasonably suppose that Jagattuṅga had given his second son Amōghavarsha III another name viz., Indaparāja because his own father Kṛishṇa II also bore that name.

The Ēḍēru plates[3] of Amma I state that the king ascended the throne of Vēṅgī after defeating his natural enemies i.e., the Rāshṭrakūṭas and their allies. Probably Amōghavarsha (III) or Indaparāja (II), the son of Gōiṅdakāṁbā, not finding any openings for himself in the Rāshṭrākūṭa empire switched over to the Eastern

1 D.C. Ganguly, *The Eastern Chālukyas*, p. 73.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 265, text lines 20-21

3 *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 36 ff.

Chālukya camp and was rewarded with the fiefdom of Pulivaṟṟu. This will mean that Indaparāja II returned to the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire and became king as Amōghavarsha III when the throne fell vacant in 935 A.D.

The executor *(ājñapti)* of the grant was Kaṭṭārāja, whose name is also found in some other copper plate grants, spelt differently as Kaṭakēśvara,[1] Kaṭakarāja[2] and Kaḍiyarāja.[3]

Of the geographical names mentioned in this charter the village Virajā is located variously in Utkala[4] and in the 'division of 6000 villages'.[5] However, its correct identification seems to be with the village Urjām, Narasannapet Taluk, Srikakulam District, A.P.[6] The gift village Pulivaṟṟu may be identified with the present Peda-Pulivarru in the Repalle Taluk, Guntur District, while the Velaṁthūru-sīmā can be identified with the region around Vellatūru, situated to the north of Peda-Pulivarru in the same Taluk and District. The remaining place-names viz., Māvalūru, Kaṁcheka-vvapūṇḍi and Goravapūṇḍi cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge.

TEXT[7]

[Metres : Verses 1, 3, 4, *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam;* Verses 2, 6, *Āryā;* Verses 5, 8, *Āryāgīti;* Verses 7, 9, 10, *Anushṭubh]*

First Plate

1 [8] Svasti [||*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-[Mā] navya-sa-

2 gōtrāṇāṁ Hārīti-putrāṇāṁ Kauśikī-vara-prasāda-labdha-rājyānā[ṁ]

3 Mātṛi-gaṇa-paripālitānāṁ Svāmi-Mahā[sē] na-pād-ānudhyātā-

4 nāṁ Bhagavā(va)n-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-vara-va-

5 rāha-lāṁcha(chha)n-ēkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśīkṛit-ārāti-maṇḍalānāṁ (nām)=A-

---

1 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 41 ff.

2 *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 195 ff: Above, Vol. V, pp. 131 ff.

3 *Ep. Andhrica*, Vol. III, pp. 43 ff.

4 Above, Vol. XXXVI, p. 192, Note 2.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *J.E.S.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 23.

7 From the ink impressions.

8 There is a floral design at the commencement of line 1.

6 śvamēdh-āvabhṛi[tha]-snāna-pavitrīkṛita-vapushā[ṁ] Chalukyānam kula-

7 m=alaṁkārish [ṇōḥ] - Satyāśraya-Vallabh-ēndrasya bhrātā Kubja-Vishṇuva-

Second Plate : First Side

8 rddhanō=shṭā[daśa]-varshāṇi Vēṁgī-dēśam=apālayat || tad-ātmajo

9 Jaya[siṁha]s=trayas-triṁśatam | tad-anuja Indarājah sapta-dināni |

10 tana(tan=na)ndanō Vishṇuvarddhanō nava | tat-sūnur=Mmaṁgi-yuvaraja[ḥ*]

11 paṁchaviṁśatiṁ | tat-putrō Jayasiṁhas=trayōdaśa |

12 tad=avarajaḥ Kokkiliḥ shan=māsān | tasya Jyeshthō bhra-

13 tā Vishṇuvarddhanas=tam=uchchāṭya sapta-triṁśatam | tat-putro Vi-

14 jayāditya-bhaṭṭārakō=shṭādaśa | tat-sutō Vishṇuvarddhanah sha

Second Plate : Second Side

15 ṭtriṁśataṁ | tat-sutō Vijayāditya-narēndra-mṛigarajaś-ch ashta

16 chatvāriṁśataṁ | tat-suta[ḥ] Kali-Vishṇuvarddhano ddhyarddha varsham ta

17 t-sutō [Gu*]ṇagāṁka-Vijayādityaś=chatucha(ś=cha)tvariṁśatam tad-anu

18 ja(jō) yuvarā[ja]-Vri(Vi)kramāditya-bhūpatē[h*] sūnu[h*] Chalukya Bhī-

19 ma-bhūpālas=triṁśataṁ || Tat-putraḥ sva-bhujāsi-khandita-ripu-

20 kshmābhi(bhṛi)d-balād-vāśa(sa)vī[ṁ*] jitv=āsa(śāṁ) Virajē pratishṭi(shṭhi)ta-jayastambha[ḥ*]

21 pratishṭhō raṇō(ṇē) | svarṇn-ārūḍha-tulō=tra bāḍham-a[tu*]lō dhātrī-talē [kshatriyē mitrābhaḥ parira*] [1]

---

1 This portion of the line is restored with the help of a similar verse found in the A.S.P. plates of Śaktivarman, Above. Vol. XXXVI, p. 196

PULIVARRU GRANT OF AMMARĀJA

i

iia

iib

iii a

iii b

iv a

SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

Third Plate : First Side

22 kshati sma Vijayāditya[ḥ*] sam-ārddhāṁ dharāṁ || [1*] Tasya śaśimauli-mū-

23 rttēr=Umā-samān-ākṛitēḥ Kumār-ābhaḥ [|*] Pallava-mahādēvyāṁ

24 khalu yas=samabhavad=Ammarāj-ākhyaḥ || [2*] Kēchid=bhūdhara-gō-

25 charē varaguhā-sthān=ēpsitān-bhūdharāṁ kēchidu(d=du)rggama-va-

26 kra-saṁkaṭa-mahā-durjñēya-mārgg-āṭaviṁ(vīm) [|*] a(ā)sā(śrā)nta(ntā)n=a

27 pi kēchid=asru(śru)ta-ra-pāntarāntā vadhī[1] [|*] yasmāga(d=ga)ṇḍaragaṇḍa-bhū-

28 talapatē bhītā prayātā dvishaḥ [||3*] Yō rūpēṇa Manōja[ṁ*]

Third Plate : Second Side

29 vibhavēna Mahēndram=ahimakaram=u[ru*]mahasā Haram=ari-pu-

30 ra-dahanēndraṁ nyakkurvvan=bhāti vidita-dig-avani-kīrttiḥ || [4*] Sa Sarvva-

31 lōkāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva-

32 raḥ paramabhaṭṭārakaḥ Velanāṇḍu-vishaya-nivāsinō

33 rāshṭrakūṭa-pramukhān=kuṭuṁbina[ḥ*] samāhūy=ēttham=ā-

34 jñāpayati || śrī-Mānyakēṭ-ādhipatir=Indaparāja-nāmā

35 vidita-Mahāraṭṭa-vaṁśajaḥ prakaṭa-guṇaḥ | vīr-āvatāra-mū-

Fourth Plate : First Side

36 [r*]tti[ḥ*] Śaṁkara-pada-ka[ma*]la-shaṭpadō ma[ti]mān || [5*] Tata(t=ta)na-
yō naya-

37 vēdi(dī) vṛitāyata-bhuja-gat-āsi-jita-para[nṛi]paḥ | Raṭṭiya-nṛi-

---

1 The meaning of this quarter of the verse is not clear.

38 pati-mṛigapatir=amita-guṇa-gaṇō(ṇai)r=jjita-śatru[ḥ*] || [6*] Tat=patnī Gō-

39 iṁdakā[ṁ*]b=ēti vī(vi)khyātā putra. . . [pa]ti[vra]ta-gu-

40 ṇōpētā dharmmajñā satyavādinī || [7*] Um=Ēśayō[ḥ*] Shanmu(ṇmu)kha-

41 vaj=Jayanta[ḥ*] Śa(Śa)chi(ch=ī)ndrayō[ḥ*] bhūd- yad=Upēndra-[La]kshmē(ksh-myōḥ) | Anaṁgaval=lō-

42 ka-jan-ābhipūjyaṁ(jya)n=tayōs=sutō Indaparāja nāmā || Naku[la*]-

Fourth Plate : Second Side

43 Sahadēva-mūrttē(rttiḥ) Dharmm=ānugatau[2] cha Bhārata-khyātau sarvva-dha [rmma*]-

44 pravīṇō nirjjita-Duryyōdhan-āri-sē(sai)nika-mukhyaḥ || [8*] tasmai Indapa-

45 rāj-ākhyāya bhavad=vishayē Pulivaṟṟa-nāma-grāmō mānyīkṛitya

46 śāsanāru(rū)ḍhō sarvva-kara-parihāra(rō) datta iti viditam=a-

47 stu vaḥ || asy=āvadhayaḥ || pūrvvattaḥ Māvalūru sī-

48 mā | daksha(kshi)ṇa[ta*]ḥ Kaṁchekavvapūṇḍi sīmā | paśchimataḥ Goravapū-

49 ṇḍi sīmā | uttarataḥ Velanṭhūru sīmā || Asy=ōpari na kē-

Fifth Plate

50 nachid=bā[dhā*] karttavyā [|*] yaḥ karōti sa paṁcha-mahāpāta[ka-yuktō bha*]-

51 vati | tathā ch=ōktaṁ Vyāsēna || Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahu-

52 bhiś=ch=ānupālitā[|*] ya[sya] yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya

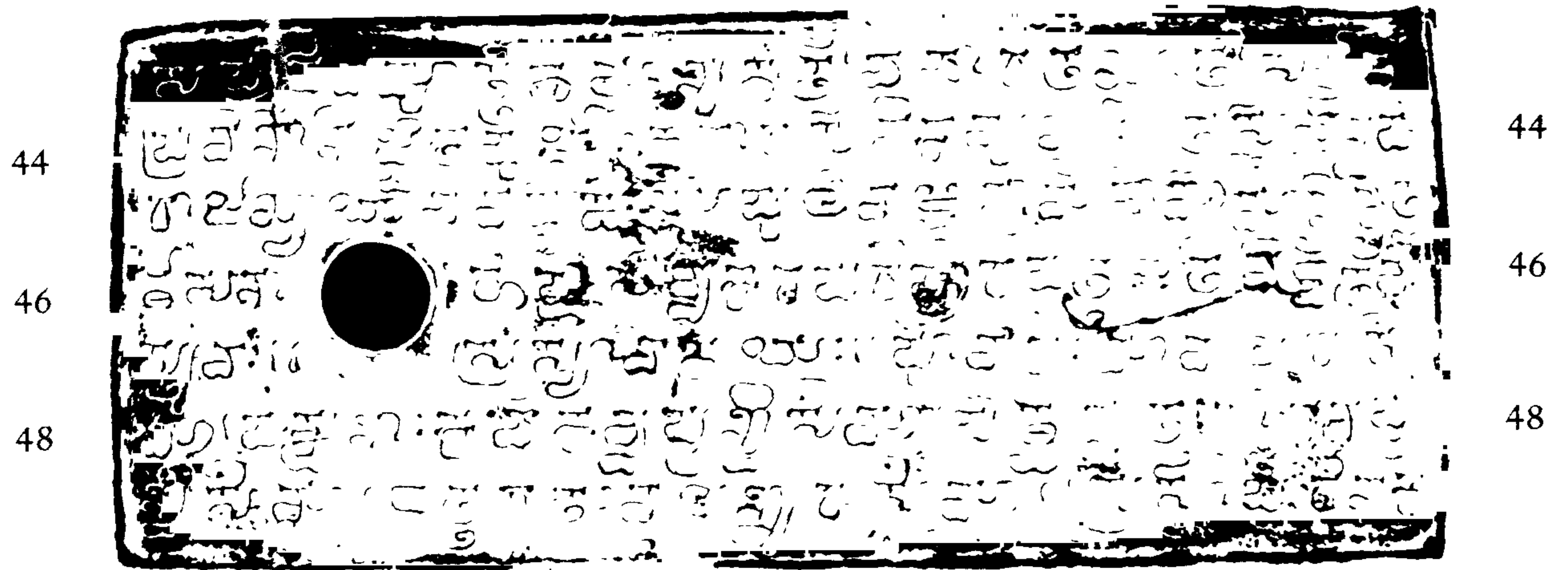
---

1 It is interesting to note that the *gō* in combination with the following initial vowel *i* has been treated by the composer as one syllable for the sake of metre.

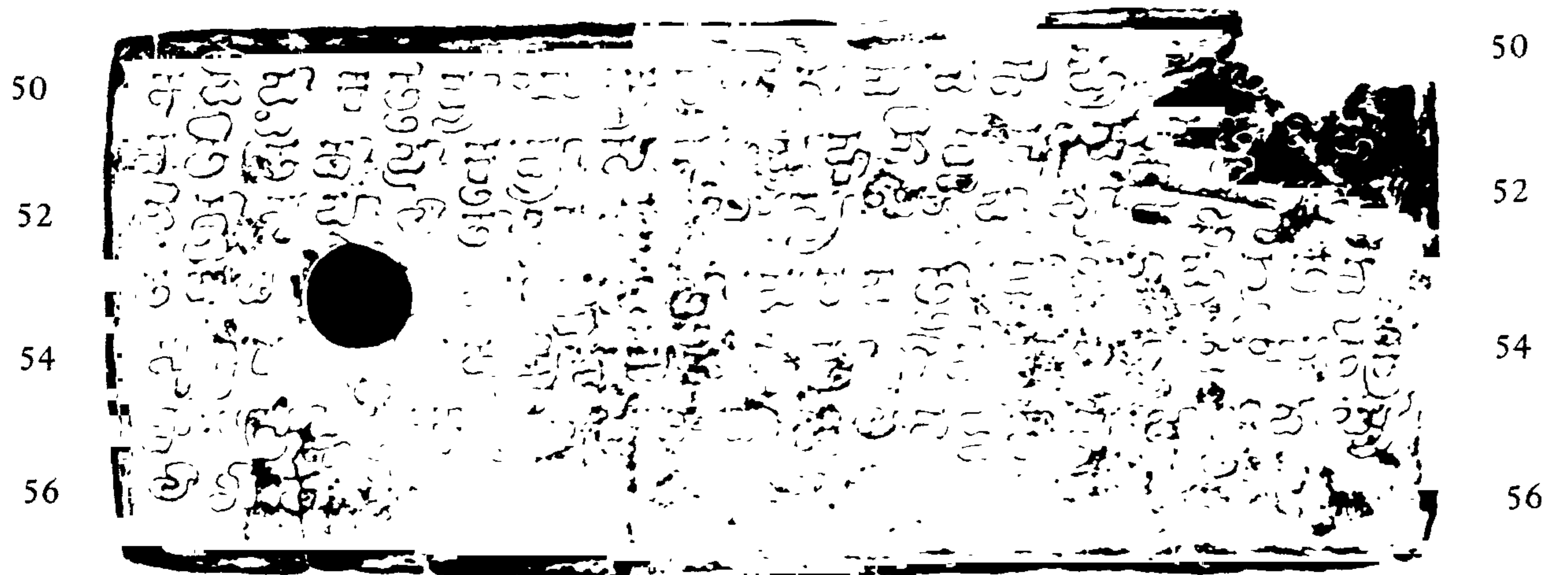
2 Read *Dharmmarāj-ānugatau* for the sake of metre.

PULIVARRU GRANT OF AMMARĀJA – PLATE II

iv b



v



K.V. Ramesh SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

53 tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [9*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta va-

54 sumda[dha]rā[m |*] shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭāyāṁ jāyatē kri-

55 miḥ || [10*] Ājñaptiḥ Kaṭṭārājaḥ [|*] Mahākāla-bhaṭṭa-kāvyam [|*] Jāntāchāryya-

56 likhitaṁ [||*][1]

1 There is a floral design at the end.

NO. 15 – ORISSA STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF NARĒNDRADHAVALA YEAR 189

(*2 Plates*)

S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

and

Snigdha S. Tripathy, Bhubaneshwar

The copper plate charter edited here, with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was discovered somewhere in the Aska sub-division in Ganjam District in Orissa. The plates are now deposited in the Orissa State Museum at Bhuvanēśvar.[1]

The set consists of three plates of which the first plate is engraved only on the inner side. Each plate measures approximately 19.2 cms in length and 9.9 cms in breadth. They are strung together on a copper ring, the two ends of which are soldered to the back of a circular seal. The diameter of the seal is about 4.2 cms. On the seal, there are seen the representations of a crescent moon at the top and a standing boar below. The seal, however, does not contain any legend. The writing on the plates is in a good state of preservation. The inscription contains on the whole 34 lines of writing.

The characters belong to the Kaliṅga alphabet of about the 11th century A.D. and they can be compared with those of Pandiapathar plates of Bhīmasēna, year 89[2] and Madras Museum plates of Narēndradhavala.[3] Some letters, however, show certain distinct and noteworthy features. Particularly interesting from the palaeographical point of view are the letters *p*, *y*, *r* and *v*. The letter *p* shows two forms, the first being similar in shape to that of the same letter found in the Pandiapathar and Madras Museum plates as seen in lines 7, 8, 9, etc. The second type of *p* is square shaped as found in lines 2, 5, 9, 11, etc. This type of *p* is, however, not seen in the Pandiapathar and Madras Museum plates. The letter *y* is written in three ways. The first type is akin in shape to the same letter found in the Pandiapathar and Madras Museum plates as found in lines 4, 13, 14, 15, etc. In the second type the left arm takes a direct curve and goes down to join the right arm which also takes a slight curve while descending and this type of *y* is seen in lines 2, 4, etc. This type of *y* is not to be found in the Pandiapathar and Madras Museum plates. The third type of *y* has got the shape of modern Nāgarī variety as seen in lines 16, 17, 22, 23, etc. This variety is found in the Pandiapathar and Madras Museum plates. The letter *r* is also written in two ways. The first type is akin to the same letter found in the Pandiapathar and Madras Museum plates. The second variety of *r* is triangle shaped, the two prongs on the left joining

1 This has been noticed as No. A 14 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1974-75.

2 Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 230 ff. and plate.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 44 ff. and plate.

the upper and lower ends of the arm as seen in line 1 only. This type of *r* looks almost like *ch* found in the same record. It is, however, not seen in the Pandiapathar and Madras Museum plates. A similar type of *r* is seen in the copper plate charters of *Rāṇaka* Udayakhēḍi[1] and Anaṅgabhīma III.[2] The letter *v* is written in three ways. The first type is like that of the same letter found in the Pandiapathar and Madras Museum plates as found in lines 6, 9, etc. In the second type, the arm comes slightly down to take a roundish form in the middle and again goes down below as seen in lines 9, 16, 18, etc. This variety is seen in the Madras Museum plates. The third type of *v* has got the shape of *ch* found in the same record and is seen in a very few instances as in line 15. The sign for medial *i* occurs in two forms, one in the usual form of a vertical stroke to the left of the letter (as in *dhi*, line 6) and the other in the form of a semicircle on top of the letter as in *śikhara-nivāsi* (line 3).

The plate is not free from orthographical errors. While writing the second verse in the imprecatory part of the record, the second half of the verse has been omitted, which is an instance of the carelessness of the scribe and engraver of the record.

The charter is dated in the **year 189**, evidently of the **Bhaumakara era** on the **12th day** of the **dark half** of the month of **Phālguna**. The year 189 will correspond to **1020 A.D.**, the other details being insufficient for working out the exact date.

The record commences with the auspicious word *siddham* expressed by a symbol followed by the word *svasti* and states that the grant was issued from Bhīmapura. Then is introduced the donor of the grant viz. *Mahārāja* Narēndradhavala, the grandson *(naptā)* of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Pṛithvībhañja and son of Ripudhavala. The ruler is further described as a devout worshipper of God Mahēśvara *(parama-māhēśvara)* and of god Yamaliṅgēśvara; he was an ornament of the Nala dynasty.[3] It may be pointed out here that *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Bhīmasēna of the Pandiapathar plates, who flourished in the early part of the 10th century A.D. and belonged to the same dynasty, was also a *parama-māhēśvara* and worshipper of Yamaliṅgēśvara; he also ruled over Khiḍḍiraśriṅga-maṇḍala and issued his grant from Bhīmapura. It is therefore no wonder that the present charter greatly resembles the Pandiapathar plates of Narēndradhavala's forbear Bhīmasēna. Bhīmapura, evidently named after the ruler Bhīmasēna referred to above[4], seems to have been not only his capital but also that of his successors as is evidenced by the present grant.

The royal order pertaining to the grant was addressed to the brāhmaṇas, the feudatory chiefs *(sāmanta)*, officers (*sāmavājina*) and the residents of the district

---

1 *A.R.I.E.*, 1974-75, No. A 15.

2 Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff. and Vol. XXXVII, pp. 317 ff.

3 Several kings belonging to the Nala dynasty are known to have ruled in the Chattisgadh and Bastar regions of Madhya Pradesh. (See, Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 12 ff.; *The Classical Age*, pp. 188-90). But it appears to be different from the present one since those kings flourished much prior to Narēndradhavala.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 225.

(*vishaya*) of Hēṭṭhāpata. The gift village was Śauchapura situated in the same district. The donee was Gabhīta, son of Uḍḍha and grandson of *Bhaṭṭaputra* Baladēva, who belonged to the Parāśara-gōtra, five *pravaras* and the Vājasana-charaṇa and who was an emigrant from Hastipada. This is followed by the injunction addressed to the brāhmaṇas, priests, chief-queen (*mahādēvī*), chief feudatories (*mahāsāmanta*), feudatories (*sāmanta*), door-keepers (*pratīhāra*), minor chieftains (*rājānaka*), petty chiefs (*rājaputra*) and such other inside and outside officials[1] calling upon them not to interfere with the grant. This is followed by six usual inprecatory verses which are ascribed to the Dharma-śāstra of Manu. After mentioning the date, the charter concludes with the statement that it was engraved (*utkīrṇṇa*) by *Sāndhivigrahi* Vādhyalāka.

The importance of the charter lies in the fact that it discloses for the first time the date of Narēndradhavala, the family to which he belonged, his capital as well as two of his forbears. Already one charter of Narēndradhavala is known. Since it was essentially a *kraya-śāsana*, it did not contain any information regarding the king excepting the fact that Khiṇḍarasiṁgha[2] formed part of the kingdom of Narēndradhavala. While editing the Madras Museum plates, Dr. D.C. Sircar suggested that Narēndradhavala might have belonged to the Dhavala family on account of his name ending in *dhavala*.[3] The present charter shows that Narēndradhavala belonged to the Nala family which flourished in the Ganjam region of Orissa from as early a period as the beginning of the 10th century A.D.[4] The Pandiapathar plates revealed the existance of king Bhīmasēna of the Nala dynasty in Orissa in the beginning of the 10th century A.D. The charter under review shows that the same dynasty continued to rule even in the early part of the eleventh century A.D. Though it discloses the names of the father and grandfather of Narēndradhavala, it is not possible to give a connected chronology of the Nala dynasty from Bhīmasēna to Pṛithvībhañja, the grandfather of Narēndradhavala since the names of the kings who may have ruled in between are not available to us. Added to this, the nature of the relationship if any between Bhīmasēna and Pṛithvībhañja is not known. The use of the Bhaumakara era in the present charter shows that the Nalas might once upon a time have been the feudatories of the

---

1 The expression *antaraṅga* occurs in a number of inscriptions (see *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 7, l. 30; ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 215, l. 14; *Indian Epigraphy* by D.C. Sircar, p. 371, f.n. 4 and has been taken to mean 'physician'. The expression *bahir-antaraṅga* is, however, interesting and not so far met with in inscriptions. In the present context it may be taken to include those 'outside' (*bahiraṅga*) officers who were not directly connected with the administration of the district in question and those 'inside' (*antaraṅga*) officers who were directly concerned with the administration of that district.

2 Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 49. There is a slight difference in the spelling of this place. Khiṇḍaraśriṅga is no doubt identical with Khiḍḍiraśriṅga of the Pandiapathar plates and of the charter under review.

3 Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 48.

4 Dr. Sircar's statement that the Nala family seems to have been ousted from the area (Khiḍḍiraśriṅga) by the Dhavalas who also appear to have owed allegiance to the Bhaumakaras does not appear to be correct in the light of the identification made above (Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, p. 235).

imperial Bhaumakaras and had begun to rule more or less independently as evidenced by the use of the title *Mahārāja* by the king and the absence of the mention of any imperial overlord.[1]

Khiḍḍiraśriṅga can be identified with the former Khidishingy Zamindari which had its headquarters at Dhārakōṭa and lay to the south of Bodaguda and to the west of Goomsur now forming part of the Aska region of the Ganjam District where the present charter was originally found. Bhīmapura can be identified with the modern Bhimnagar coming under the jurisdiction of Pattapur police station in the Aska sub-division in Ganjam District. The grant village Śauchapura and Hēṭṭhāpata-vishaya in which the former village was situated as well as other places like Hastipada cannot, however, be identified.

TEXT[2]

[Metres: Verses 1-5 *Anushṭubh;* verse 6 *Pushpitāgrā*]

First Plate

1 Siddham[3] svasti [||*] śrī-Bhīmapurādgavataś[4]=charāchara-guru(rōḥ) śaśā-

2 ṅk-ārddha-śēkhara-dhara[sya*] sthity-utpatti-pralaya-kāraṇa-hētōḥ śrī-

3 Yata(ma)liṅgēśvarasya bhaṭṭārakasya śikhara-nivāsinaś=cha-

4 raṇa-kamal-ārādhana-vyāptasya puṇya-nichayasya[5] śa-

5 kti-traya-prakarsh-ānurañjit-āśēya(sha)-sāmanta-chakrasya

6 bhuja-va(ba)l-ākrānta[6]-sakala-Khiḍḍiraśriṅga-maṇḍal-ādhi-

7 patēḥ paramamāhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyā-

---

1 See also *ibid.*, p. 48.

2 From impressions.

3 Expressed by a symbol.

4 Read *śrī Bhīmapurād=bhagavataś=*

5 Read *kamal-ārādhan-āvāpta-puṇya-nichayasya.*

6 Better read *sva-bhuja-bala-parākram-ākrānta* as in the Pandiapathar plates of Bhīmasēna, Year 89, above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 236.

Second Plate: First Side

8 tō(taḥ) parama-bhaṭā(ttā)rakō mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Pṛi-

9 thvībhañjasya naptā śrī-Ripudhavala-sutaḥ parama-māhēśvarō

10 Nala-vaṁś-ōdbhava-kula-tilaka-mahārāja-śrī-Narēndradhavala-

11 dēvaḥ kuśalī [|*] Hēṭṭhāpatha-vishayē |[1] sāmanta-sāmatā(vā) ji-

12 nivāsi-janapadān samādiśati sarvvataḥ śivam=a-

13 s[m]ākam=anyat | viditam=astu bhavatāṁ Śauchapura-grāmō=yaṁ

14 chatuḥsīmā-paryantaḥ sa-jala-sthala[ḥ*] sa-padrāraṇya-saha(hi)taḥ Parī(rā)

15 śara-gōtrāya pañchārishaya[2] -pravarāya Vājasē(sa)na-cha[raṇāya*]

Second Plate : Second Side

16 Hastipada-vinirgatāya Bhīmapura-vāstavyāya bhaṭā(ṭṭā)putra-

17 Va(Ba)ladēva-naptrē |[3] Uḍḍha-sutāya bhaṭa(ṭṭa)putra-śrī-Gabhīṭṭa[4] sa-

18 lila-dhārā-puraḥ sarēṇa chandr-ārka-vāyu-sthitō(tyā) grāmō=yaṁ pratipādi-

19 tō=smābhi[ḥ*] yatō bhavadbhir=yadā kālātta(nta)rē brā[hma]ṇa-purō-

20 hita-mahādēvī-mahāsāmanta-śrī-sāmanta-pratīdā(hā)ra rājaka[5] -rāja-

21 putra-va(ba)hir-antaraṅg=ādīnāṁ na ka(kai)śchid= uparōdhād=dharmma-gauravā-

22 n=na kēn=āpi vā(bā) dhā karaṇīyā [|*] tanta[6] śāsanatayā paṭhyatē māna-

23 vīyē dharma-śāstrē | Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā dattā rājabhir=va . . . .

---

1 This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

2 Read *pañch-ārshēya.*

3 This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

4 Read °*Gabhīṭṭāya*.

5 Better read *rājānaka*.

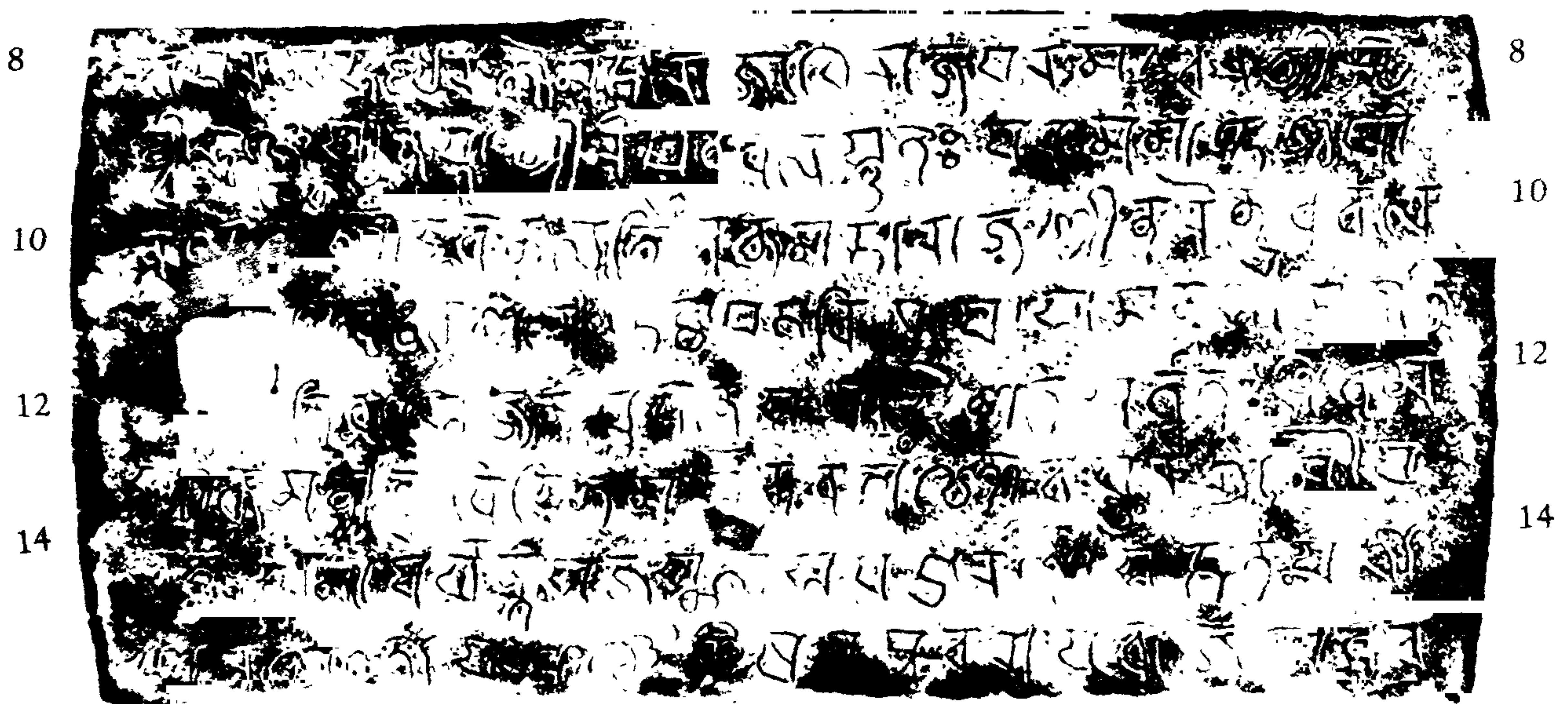
6 Read *tathā cha.*

ORISSA STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF NARĒNDRADHAVALA, YEAR 188 PLATE I

i

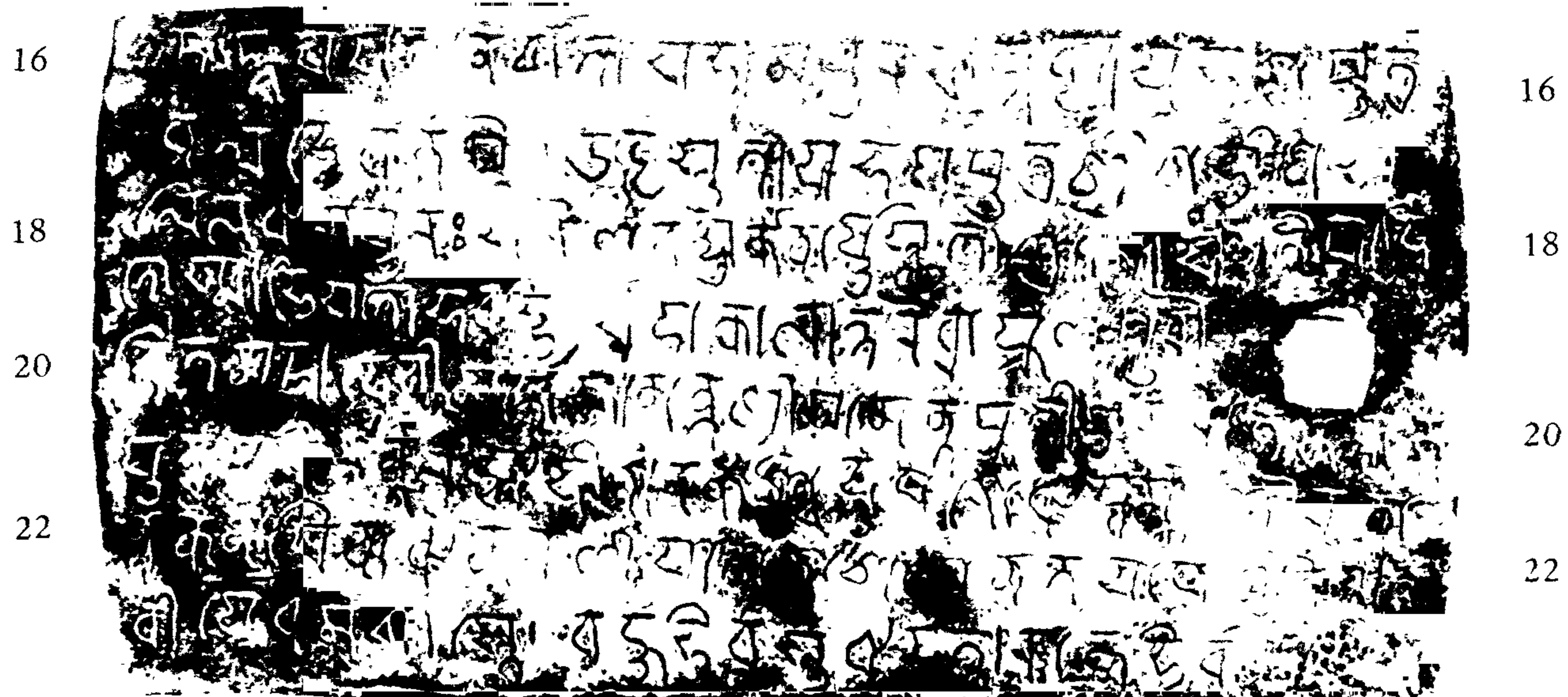


ii a

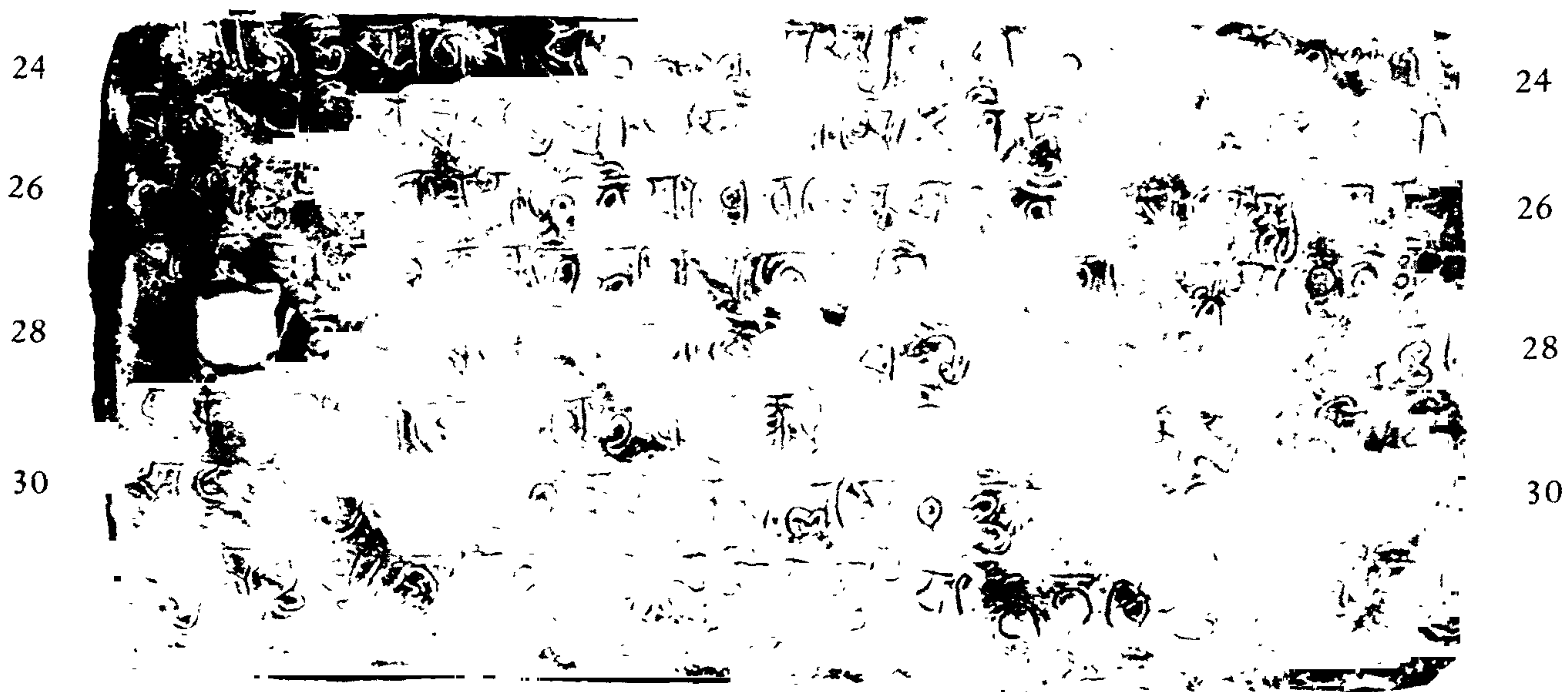


K.V. Ramesh

ii b



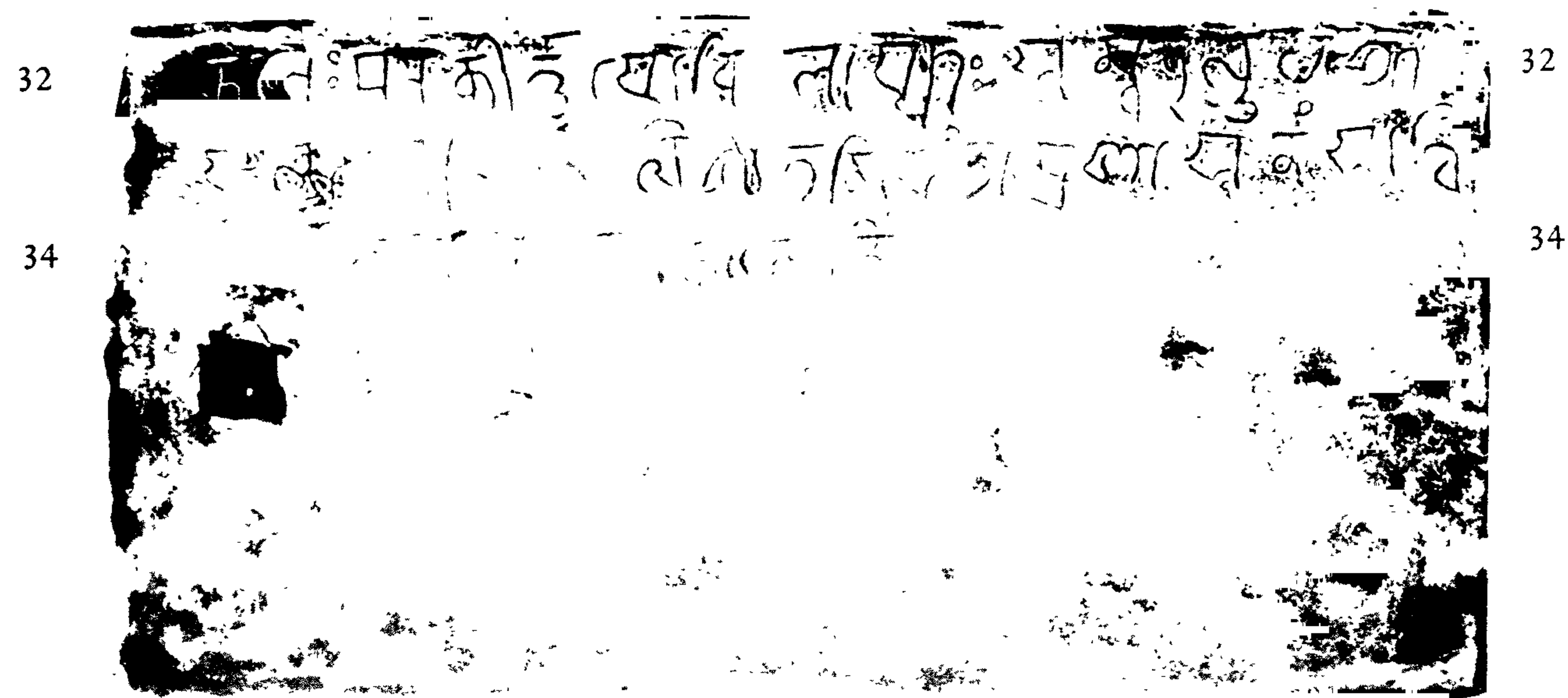
iii a



SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

ORISSA STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF NARĒNDRADHAVALA, YEAR 188 PLATE II

iii b





K.V. Ramesh

SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

Third Plate : First Side

24 ttā[1] rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhir=yasya[2] yasya yadā bhūmis=tasā(sya) tasya tadā

25 phala[m || 1 ||*] Shashṭir=varsha-sahasrāṇi svargē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*][3] Mā bhūd=apha-

26 la-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ [|*] svadānāt=phalam=ānantyaṁ para-dā-

27 n-ānupālanaṁ(nam) [|| 3 ||*] Haratē hārayatē bhūmiṁ manda-vu(bu)ddhis=tamā (mō)vṛitaḥ [|*] sa

28 va(ba)ddhō vāruṇaiḥ pāśais=tiryag-yōnishu jāyatē [||4||*] Sva-dattām

29 para-dattām=vā yō harēta vasundharā[m*] [|*] sa-vishṭhā(shṭā)yāṁ kṛimir=bhū-tvā pitṛibhiḥ

30 saha pachyatē [|| 5 ||*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu-vandu-lālā[4]śriyam=anuchi-

31 ntya manushya-jīvitaṁ [cha |*] sakalam=idam-udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddhyā(dhvā) na hi pu-

Third Plate : Second Side

32 ruvaiḥ(shaiḥ) para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ [|| 6 ||*] samvat 100 80 9[5]

33 Phālguna vadi 12 [|*] Likhitam=idaṁ tāmra-śasanaṁ sāndhi-

34 vigrahi-Vādhyalākēn=ēti [||*]

---

1 The engraver seems to have wrongly engraved the letters *r=vasudhā dattā* by way of repetition and then struck them off.

2 Read *dibhiḥ* [|*] *yasya.*

3 The scribe has omitted the second half of the verse which is as follows : *ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt* [||2*||]

4 Read *kamala-dal-āmbu-bindu-lōlām*

5 The figure for 9 is different from similar figures seen in the Pandiapathar plates (Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 238, line 25) and the Daspalla plates of Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa (*Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 194, line 41). We are inclined to think that the engraver did not carefully engrave the figure. After imperfectly engraving the figure for 9, he wrote *ya* of the conjunct letter *dhya* as seen in line 7 of the record. However, it may be noted that the figure for 9, indifferently engraved by him also stands for the same number (See *Prāchīnalipi Mālā* (by G.H. Ojha), pl. LXXXVI below).

NO. 16 – VĀSANA INSCRIPTION OF VĀSAṬHĪPUTA SIRI PUḶUMĀVI

(*1 Plate*)

M.J. Sharma, Mysore

The inscription[1] edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was recently discovered at a place called Vāsana (locally known as Haḷē-Vāsana) in the Nargund Taluk of Dharwar District, Karnataka, by Shri S.V.P. Halakatti,[2] Research Scholar, Department of Ancient History and Epigraphy, Karnatak University, Dharwad. It is engraved on a lime-stone pillar, which is octagonal above and rectangular at the base, found lying on a small mound on the bank of the river Malaprabhā. The mound as it exists now has been affected by recurrent floods and erosion caused by the sharp curve in the course of the river which at this point flows from the north-west in a north-easterly direction. The exposed part of the mound reveals the remains of brick structures, possibly of the Sātavāhana times, as also sculptural remains of the medieval period.

There are four lines of writing, two on each side, engraved in vertical alignment with the pillar, running downwards towards the base on prepared surface. The top portion of the pillar is damaged with flakes chipped off resulting in the loss of a few *aksharas* in the beginning of each line. At the base, where the writing ends, are carved, covering three sides, three semicircular lotus medallions, one below the other and tapering in size, resting on a horizontal band with cross-petalled designs in squares. Though the inscribed surface is slightly damaged and worn out, the letters are clear and well preserved, particularly in lines 1-2. The mean size of the letters excluding the medial signs, varies from 2.5 to 3 cms in height and 2 to 2.5 cms in breadth.

The inscription is written in Brāhmī characters of about the first half of third century A.D. and the language is Prakrit. As regards palaeography, except for some differences in style adopted in the marking of the flourishes and the angular bottoms, the letters are comparable with those of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Prākrit inscription[3] of Gautamīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi, year 6, and basically nearer to the Ikshvāku inscriptions from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The flourishes of medial *i* generally run slantingly from the top of the letters towards the left and end up with a slight downward curve resembling a hook[4] except in line 1, where, due to lack of space, they are bent after the start and drawn horizontally. Noteworthy is the formation of angular bottoms

1 Noticed in *A.R Ep.*, 1981-82. I am indebted to Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy), Mysore, for making some important suggestions.

2 *Deccan Heralad*, June 24, 1981, p. 4, Col. 4.

3 Above, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 278 ff. and plate.

4 Similar flourishes are noticed in the Amarāvati Inscriptions, *ASSI*, Vol. I, plate LVI, No. 2, and in the Banavāsi Inscription of Siva Siri Puḷumāvi, *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, No. 8, plate, (line 1, letter *si* and line 2, letter *vi*).

and the artistic curves in letters *t* and *s*. In the former, the vertical line wnich is sometimes slightly bent towards the left, at the base, takes a sharp angular upward turn on the left side and extends like a semicircular arc towards right across the main stem, while, in the latter, the right limb which diverges obliquely to the right, takes an upward turn at the angular base to extend vertically and on the other hand, the left limb is formed with a pronounced artistic curve. Also, the alternative slanting of the stem in letter *r* is worth noticing. The serifs are uniformly scooped-up triangles. The *anusvāra* is indicated by a small cipher above the letter, a little away to the right. In line 4, at the end, there is a word with five letters reading *sarparāja* in characters of about 6th century A.D.

As pointed above, the inscription has suffered the loss of a few letters at the beginning of every line and, hence, the full purport of the inscription cannot be made out. The record mentions, in line-1, the king Vāsathīputa Siri Puḷumāvi and in line-2 the great lord *(mahādēva)* Chaṁḍasiva, the inhabitant of the place .... *yatana*, a name which is only partly preserved. Line-3 refers to a carpenter *(vaḍhaki)* whose name is lost. In the last line there are only two letters *(tēti)* followed by two vertical strokes, and, apart from that, to the same line is appended a word with 5 letters in 6th century characters, the first four of these letters reading *sarparāja*. As a whole, it may be reasonably concluded that the purpose of the inscription is to record the making *([kā ?] tēti)* of the pillar by a carpenter *(vaḍhaki)* for the (temple of) the great lord *(mahādēva)* Chaṁḍasiva, the inhabitant of . . *yatana*, during the time of the [Sātavā*] hana king Vāsaṭhīputa Siri Puḷumāvi.

The present inscription is important for, firstly, it is only the third Sātavāhana record found as far south as Karnāṭaka, the other two being the Myākadōni[1] (Bellary District) inscription of Siri Puḷumāvi and the Banavāsi (North Kanara District) inscription[2] of Vāsiṭhīputa Siva Siri Puḷumāvi. Secondly, it helps us to fix positively the place of the king Puḷumāvi of the present epigraph in Sātavāhana genealogy as known from the Purāṇas, epigraphy and numismatics. V.S. Sukthankar, while identifying the Puḷumāvi of the Myākadōni inscription, has given the following list of Puḷumāvis with their possible chronology and adopting the details from V.A. Smith who had worked upon the Puranic material supplied by Pargiter.[3]

1 Puḷumāvi (I), the fifteenth king of the dynasty, who ruled sometime before 59 A.D.

2 Puḷumāvi (II), Vāsishṭhīputra, who came to the throne in about 135 A.D., ruled for around 28 years.

---

1 Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 153 ff. and plate.

2 *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, pp. 34 ff. and plate.

3 Above, Vol. XIV, p. 154.

3 Puḷumāvi (III), who came to the throne in about 163 A.D., and ruled for something like 7 years.

4 Puḷumāvi (IV), who came to the throne in about 218 A.D., and ruled for something like 7 years.

The palaeographical features of the present inscription have been already discussed above and the inscription has been placed in about the first half of 3rd century A.D. And hence, the Puḷumāvi of our record may be conveniently identified with the fourth Puḷumāvi of the above list who came to throne about 218 A.D. and ruled for about 7 years i.e., from 218 to 225 A.D. But there is some discrepancy in identifying this ruler as the fourth of that name as, according to *Matsya Purāṇa,*[1] there were only three Puḷumāvis[2] *viz.,* Puḷumāvi (I), the 15th king, who succeeded Svātikarṇa, Pulōmā (Puḷumāvi (II), the 24th king who succeeded Gautamīputra and Pulōmā (Puḷumāvi (III)), the 30th king who succeeded Chaṇḍaśrī. According to the same *Purāṇa,* the king who succeeded Puḷumāvi (II) was known by the name of Śivaśrī[3] and not as Puḷumāvi whom Sukthankar had listed as Puḷumāvi (III). This has led to a lot of controversy among scholars. However, for our purpose, the Puḷumāvi of the present record may be referred to as Puḷumāvi, the last king of the Sātavāhanas, who succeeded Chaṇḍaśrī, because the present inscription has been already assigned palaeographically to the first half of the 3rd century A.D. to which the last Puḷumāvi alone belongs, the other Puḷumāvis having ruled in the earlier centuries. This identification is further strengthened by a clinching clue furnished by the present record which refers to the deity as Chaṇḍaśiva (line 2), a name which reminds us of Puḷumāvi's predecessor Chaṇḍaśrī, who might have been his father or elder brother, and in whose memory, probably, the temple of the god Chaṇḍaśiva was built.

As noted above, according to Puranic sources, Puḷumāvi, the 30th king of the Sātavāhanas, ruled for 7 years and the date assigned to him was C. 218-25 A.D. Sircar

---

1 See for the names of the kings under *Matsya Purāṇa, Early History of Deccan,* Ed. by Yazdani, p. 85.

2 Even in a recently compiled and reconciled list of the Sātavāhana kings there are only three Puḷumāvis. See *Sātavāhana Names and Dates · A Study in Synthesis* (paper read in Sātavāhana Seminar, Hyderabad, 1981) by Dr. K.V. Ramesh.

3 V.A. Smith and Sukthankar had followed Pargiter's interpretation of the Puranic text. The text pertaining to Śivaśrī reads thus : *Śivaśrīr vai Pulōmā tu sapt=aiva bhavitā nṛipāḥ'.* Pargiter had translated it as 'Śivaśrī Pulōmā will be king (for) 7 years'. He had also given, in a foot-note (foot-note 2) another version of the text round in *Matsya Purāṇa* which reads *māt tu* i.e., *Śivaśrīr vai Pulōmāt tu,* etc. It may be noticed that the name Pulōmāt is in ablative case and the expletive word *'vai'* separates it from Śivaśrī. Therefore, it may be deduced that the intended meaning was that Śivaśrī, after Pulōmā, ruled for 7 years. Hence, Pulōmā mentioned here was the immediate predecessor of Śivaśrī, who had been identified as Puḷumāvi (II) and who had ruled for 38 yerrs. See : *The Purāṇa text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age,* F.E. Pargiter, pp. 42 and 71. D.C. Sircar had referred to him as Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi, see : *Age of Imperial Unity,* p. 205, and see : *The Comprehensive History of India,* p. 322 and f.n. 2.

places him between C. 219 and 227 A.D. while Ramesh fixes his date as C. 217 to 224 A.D.[1] But, whatever the dates assigned, the historicity of Puḷumāvi's rule has remained till now a controversy as there were not enough epigraphs to prove his reign, except the one from Myākadōni. But, even the Myākadōni inscription and its assignment have remained subjects of controversy. Sukthankar, in the course of editing this inscription, rightly observed that its characters resembled those of the Jaggayyapēṭa inscription of Purisadata, a post Sātavāhana Ikshvāku ruler, but, surprisingly enough, pushed it back by about half a century[2] and assigned it to that Puḷumāvi who had succeeded Gautamīputra in the first quarter of the 2nd century A.D. instead of assigning it to the last of the Puḷumāvis. His only reason for doing so was that, since the Myākadōni inscription was dated in the 8th regnal year, it could not have belonged to the last Puḷumāvi who was credited with a reign of only 7 years by the *Purāṇas*.[3] On the other hand, Dubreuil[4] ruled out this objection by stating that one must not rely on the duration of the reigns as supplied by the *Matsya Purāṇa* and reassigned the inscription to the last Puḷumāvi, mainly on palaeographical grounds. Sircar[5] and other scholars[6] agreed with this view while some others[7] did not. Luckily, we are now in a position to put an end to this controversy for, on a careful re-examination of the Myākadōni record it is found that Sukthankar,[8] while deciphering the regnal year given therein had read it wrongly as Eight instead as Six. The numerical sign given there clearly stands for 6 as may be confirmed by a comparison with the signs for the same digit occurring in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Prakrit inscriptions[9] of Vīrapurisadata and in another inscription,[10] from the same place, of Gautamīputra Vijaya Śrī Sātakarṇi, year 6. Now, with the revision of the regnal year from 8 to 6, the Myākadōni inscription can be positively assigned to Puḷumāvi, the last king of the Sātavāhanas, without contravening the Puranic assignment of seven years for his reign.

Another inscription which deserves our attention on grounds of its palaeographical features, which have much in common with those of our epigraph, comes from Banavāsi and belongs to Vāsiṭhīputa Siva Siri Puḷumāvi. It records the setting up of the

1 See the Chronological list in '*Sātavāhana Names and Dates : A Study in Synthesis*' (paper read in Sātavāhana Seminar, Hyderabad 1981) by K.V. Ramesh.

2 See the Puranic list, Yazdani, *Early History of Deccan*, p. 112.

3 Above, Vol. XVI, p. 154.

4 Dubreuil, G.J., *Ancient History of Deccan*, p. 51.

5 *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 206.

6 Yazdani, Ed., *Early History of Deccan*, p. 130.

7 I.K. Sharma, *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire*, pages 25-26.

8 Above, Vol. XIV, p. 155, text line 1.

9 Above, Vol. XX, Āyaka-pillar inscriptions, C3, C4, B2, B4 and B5, plates and transcripts.

10 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 274 and plate, text line 3.

memorial stone by the king in memory of his queen *(Mahādēvi)*. Though the editors of the inscription had compared and contrasted[1] its palaeographical features with those of the inscriptions from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Jaggayyapēṭa, they sought to identify the king Vāsiṭhīputa Siva Siri Puḷumāvi of the record with Śivasrī, the 25th king of the list as given by the *Matsya Purāna.*[2] But this identification is not tenable in view of the suffixing of Puḷumāvi to the name Śivaśrī in the Banavāsi inscription. According to the *Matsya Purāṇa,* the name of the 25th king was only Śivaśrī without any suffix or prefix while in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* the word Sātakarṇi is appended to his name.[3] Added to this, on grounds of palaeography also the Banavāsi inscription definitely belongs to the first half of the third century A.D. Therefore, the king Vāsiṭhīputa Siva Siri Puḷumāvi mentioned in the Banavāsi inscription is to be identified with the king Vāsiṭhīputa Siri Puḷumāvi of the present record. The only difference in the name is the absence of the honorific prefix 'Siva' in our inscription. The reason for the use of this optional prefix may be explained by drawing attention to the predilection of the later Sātavāhanas towards Śaivism. Particularly, in the case of Puḷumāvi of the present record, his leaning towards Lord Śiva is evident by the reference to (the temple of) Mahādēva Chaṇḍaśiva. Once this identification is accepted, there is a lot of scope to revise the attribution of the coins which bear the legends *Rañō Siva Siri Puḷumāvisa* or *Rañō Vāsaṭhīputa Siva Siri Puḷumāvisa'*. It may not be improbable that all the coins which bear the above legends were issued by the last Puḷumāvi, the successor of Chaṇḍaśrī, to whom the present inscription, as well as the Myākadōni and the Banavāsi inscriptions, are to be assigned.

TEXT

1 ...... [4]ha[5]ha-Rañō Vāsaṭhīputasa Siri Puḷumāvisa

2 .... [vā] yatana[6]- vāsisa mahādēvasa Chaṁḍasivasa

3 .... [sa] la-vaḍhakisa

4 .... tēti[7] || Sarparāja nu[8]

1 *Studies in Indian Epigraphy,* Vol. I, p. 35.

2 *Ibid.,* p. 36.

3 See *The Comprehensive History of India,* Vol. III, Ed. K.A.N. Sastri, p. 322, f.n. 2.

4 The missing portion may be restored as *'Siddhaṁ Sātavā'*; Cf. *Myākadōni Inscription,* Above, Vol. XIV, p. 155, text, line 1.

5 The letter *ha* is engraved below the line in small characters.

6 In view of the damage suffered by the preceding letters, it is not possible to say whether the name of a place was engraved here or whether the temple *(āyatana)* itself was referred to.

7 This may be tentatively restored as *katēti* (Sanskrit *kṛita iti)* which may be understood as referring to the making of the pillar bearing the inscription.

8 The word *Sarparāja[nu]* is engraved in characters of about the 6th century A.D.

VĀSANA INSCRIPTION OF VĀSAṬHIPUTA SIRI PUḶUMĀVI

2



4

K.V. Ramesh

SCALE : ONE-FOURTH

NO. 17 – MĀṆḌHAL PLATES OF PṚITHIVĪSHĒṆA II, YEARS 2 AND 10

(*4 Plates*)

Ajay Mitra Shastri, Nagpur

The antiquities brought to light as a result of archaeological excavations at Māṇḍhal, about seventy-five kms. south-east of Nagpur, in the Umred Tahsil of the Nagpur District, carried out by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of the Nagpur University in 1975-76[1] included, *inter alia*, three sets of copper-plate charters belonging to the main branch of the Vākāṭakas. One of them, issued by Pravarasēna II, has been published in the pages of this journal.[2] The remaining two grants, both of his grandson Pṛithivīshēṇa II, are also being edited here.

Till now only two copper-plate grants of Pṛithivīshēṇa II have been published—one from Balaghat[3] and the other from Mahurjhari.[4] But the former was, for some reason, left incomplete[5] and the seal-disc attached to it does not bear any writing. The seal of the latter grant was missing at the time of its discovery. Thus, the seal of Pṛithivīshēṇa II was not available so far. As against this, the seals of both the Māṇḍhal grants of Pṛithivīshēṇa II are intact. Secondly, the localities from which these charters were issued are mentioned as issuing places for the first time.[6] And lastly, both these records contain season dates which were not that popular with the later members of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.[7] It would, thus, follow that Māṇḍhal has contributed two of the three complete grants and the only known seal of Pṛithivīshēṇa II.

I. *Māṇḍhal Grant of Pṛithivīshēṇa II, Year 2*

The grant is incised on a set of four *plates* of copper the first of which is inscribed only on the inner side, whereas the next three plates are engraved on both sides. The length of the first three plates is 18.8 and of the fourth plate 18.7 cms., while the breadth of the four plates is 9.2, 9.5, 9.3 and 9.4 cms. respectively. Their thickness is uniformly 0.3 cms. About the middle of the margin on left on each plate there is a

---

1 *Indian Archaeology-1975-76–A Review*, pp. 36 and 63. Also see *Vidarbha Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1977, pp. 142-174. They have been registered as Nos. A 6 and 7 of *A.R.I.E.*, 1976-77.

2 Above, p. 68 ff. and plates.

3 V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas, CII.*, Vol. V, pp. 79-81.

4 *Vidarbha Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1971, pp. 53-77, pls. 3-10.

5 *CII.*, Vol. V, p. 80.

6 As will be shown, these places are found mentioned in some other Vākāṭaka grants also, but there they are not referred to as places of issue.

7 Only two other Vākāṭaka grants (Washim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, *CII*, Vol. VI, p. 98, text-lines 28-29 and Dhulia plates of Pravarasēna II, ibid., p. 46, text-line 28) contain season dates. A recently discovered unpublished grant of Rudrasēna II is also dated according to this system.

roughly square hole for the passage of a circular ring, 0.7 cms thick and 9.5 x 10 cms. in diameter, which holds the plates together. A circular seal of copper, which measures 0.4 cm in thickness and 8.3 cms in diameter, is fastened to the ring with the help of a perforated handle on its back. The edges of the plates are neither raised into rims nor made thicker. Yet the writing is in an excellent state of preservation. The upper surface of the seal bears a four-line inscribed legend couched in the *Anushṭubh* metre which is found for the first time. It is, of course, true that a flat disc of copper measuring 2 3/8" in diameter was found fastened to the ring of the Balaghat plates also and it was apparently intended to serve as a seal. But it was left uninscribed as the charter was not completed. The four plates together weigh 1,350 gms., while the weight of the ring and seal is 220 gms.

There are in all 41 lines of writing of which the inscribed sides of the first three plates and the first side of the fourth plate bear six lines each, while the outer side of the fourth plate has five lines. Line 3 on the second side of the 4th plate is engraved over an erasure.

The **characters**, as in the case of most of the Vākāṭaka records, are of the **box-headed** variety of the **southern alphabet**. The following points may be noted. The final consonant has a somewhat smaller size without box and has a horizontal line above as in *ṯ* in line 2. The attempt to write in a single stroke sometimes results in the joining of the left limb of the cross-bar and the lower portion of *k* as in *Kautsa* , line 20, and *aihikā* , line 22. The letter *j* is without a box. In many cases its lower limb extends beyond the upper one to left (see lines 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 21, 32 and 35); but the form with both limbs equal is equally common. Sometimes its upper line is slightly notched in the middle as in *vijayikē,* line 26. In one case (*bhuñjatō,* line 29) the lower line of subscribed *ja* shows a slight notch. The letter *n* is invariably looped:[1] sometimes a curved or straight vertical stroke emanates from the loop (for examples, see lines 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 19, etc.). *B* is generally without a notch; but notched *b* can be seen in *bala,* line 27. In many a case a small horizontal stroke to right emanates from the lower portion of the left limb of *bh* as in lines 5, 6, 9, 10, 14, 21, 25, 29, 35 and 36 and line 2 on the seal; this horizontal stroke is joined to the vertical line in °*bhara*° in line 4. The letter is usually angular, but the rounded form is noticed in °*bhiva*°, line 10. Cursive subscribed *m* is met with in lines 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 22, 23, 31 and 33. We have a few examples of *y* with the left end of the lower limb turned into a square (see lines 1, 2 and 21). The top of the right limb of the subscribed *y* is usually on a level with the upper portion of the letter to which it is attached as in °*yyāmō*° and °*ḍaśya*°, line 1; °*sādyaskra*°, line 2 and °*sya*° in lines 2 and 4. However, there are a few exceptions; see *kāruṇya* in line 8. *L* is without a box; but a boxed *l* is seen in *likhitaṁ,* line 41. A cursive subscript *v* is noticed in *Mātṛisvāmi* , line 21, and

1 The letter *t* is without a loop; but in many cases when double *t (tt)* is intended, there seems to be some confusion and the first letter is often written erroneously as *n*.

°*nvitarāmah*, line 33. The medial sign for *ā* is usually attached to the right top of the box; but sometimes it is added to the middle of the letter as in °*śvamēdhā*°, line 6. In the *akshara mā* the medial *ā* is commonly added in the middle but in line 21(*mātu*°) it is added to the right top of the box as in the case of other letters. Medial *i* is indicated by a circle on top of the letter, and the length of the medial *ī* by a short vertical stroke (see °*tī*°, line 1 : °*dhī*°, line 9; °*vī*°, lines 12 and 15; *śrī*, lines 14; °*sī*°, line 19; *kī*° line 35, etc.), sometimes curved (see °*tī*°, lines 1 and 34; *śrī*, lines 12 and 13; °*nī*° line 36), attached to the top of the box within the circle. But sometimes it takes the form of a smaller semi-circle within the circle; see, for instance, *śrī* in lines 3, 6, 11 and 13; °*gī*° in line 5; °*mī* in line 29; and *gītau* in line 36. Medial *ō* is usually indicated by the signs for *ē* and *ā* attached to the left and right tops of the box in such a manner as to appear an extension of the top-line of the box on both sides. However, in °*nō*° in *sūnō*° in lines 3 and 8, the *ā* stroke, i.e. the stroke on the right, is attached to the middle of the letter though we have the usual form with top-stroke in °*nō*°, line 25, and °*ndō*°, line 27. In the case of *mō*, of course, both the strokes are attached lower down. The *anusvāra* is represented either by a short horizontal stroke as in lines 34 and 38 and line 4 on the seal or by a dot (line 4) on the top of the letter. The *visarga* takes various forms; (i) a dot above a horizontal line as a lines 2 (*yājinaḥ*), 8 (*sūnōḥ*), 11 (*pautriṇaḥ*), 16 (°*parataḥ*), 17 (°*ōttarataḥ* and *pūrvvataḥ*), 18 (*grāmaḥ*) and 35 (*kīrtta-yāmah*); (ii) two dots placed one above the other as in lines 3 and 12 (*sūnōḥ*), 27 (*sandō-haḥ*), 28 (*khanakaḥ*), 29 (*kliptaḥ*), 30 (*karttavyaḥ* and *rakshitavyaḥ*) and 33 (°*nvitarā-maḥ*); (iii) two horizontal strokes placed similarly as in lines 13 (*sūnōḥ*), 17 (°*hikāyāḥ*), 22 (°*srishṭaḥ*), 24 (°*jñāpayitavyāḥ* and *vaḥ*), 28 (*parihṛitaḥ*), 31 (°*mānaḥ*), 34 (°*ryyā-maḥ*), 36 (°*nvijñāpayāmaḥ*) and 38 (*bhūmidaḥ*). In line 1 on the seal it is represented by a horizontal line curved at both the ends above a dot, while in line 2 the horizontal line is straight. The sign of *jihvāmūlīya* is met with in line 30 and that of *upadhmānīya* in lines 11, 12, 17, 21 and 38.

The **language** is **Sanskrit** and the record is composed in prose throughout except for a couple of imprecatory verses in lines 37-39 and the stanza on the seal. As regards **orthography**, the following observations may be made: the consonant preceded by *r* is often reduplicated, e.g., °*māptōryyāmō*°, line 1; *mūrddhnā*°, line 6; *satyārjjava* and *śauryya*, line 8; *dharmma*°, lines 9 and 22; °*varddhamāna*, line 10; °*rvvākāṭakā*°, line 11; °*pārjjita*°, line 12; °*varjja*°, line 19; *apūrvva*° and °*pūrvva*°, line 22, *sarvvādhyaksha* , line 23; *dharmmāyurbbala*° and *vijayaiśvaryya*°, line 25; °*hitārttha*°. line 26, etc. The cases of reduplication of the consonant preceding the *rēpha* are comparatively much fewer, e.g., *parākkrama*°, line 5; *vikkrama*°, line 8: *kulaputtrā*°, line 23; °*kkriyābhis*°, line 30. The consonant preceding *y* is also sometimes reduplicated as in bhāgīratthyā, line 5, *sarvvāddhyaksha*°, line 23; and °*ddhyushita*, line 24. *V* following intended *anusvāra* is also often reduplicated (see *vva*, line 37, *savvatsarē*, line 39, *vaṁśānā*°, line 5, presents an example of the use of *m* where we should expect an *anusvāra*. *Ri* is sometimes employed for medial *ṛi* as in *Pṛithivīshēṇa*, lines 11-12 and 15-16 as well as line 3 of

the seal-inscription. *Sandhi* rules are often not observed, and the record bristles with mistakes as is the case with most of the records of the dynasty.

Like other completed and genuine charters of the Vākāṭakas, the present record also commences with the word *drishṭam*, 'seen'[1]. The grant was issued from Rāmagiristhāna. No other Vākāṭaka grant speaks of Rāmagiristhāna as the place of issue. It is no doubt true that the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā are also stated to have been issued from the footprints of the god Rāmagirisvāmin[2] but there also Rāmagiri is not spoken of as a *sthāna*. Next follows the genealogy of the main line of the Vākāṭakas upto the issuing monarch, **Prithivīshēṇa II**, which up to Pravarasēna II is practically identical with that found in the Māṇḍhal and other plates of Pravarasēna II as well as the other two known copper-plate grants of Prithivīshēṇa himself. Pravarasēna II's son and successor, Narēndrasēna, is mentioned without any regal title which, in view of the other records of the dynasty where the regal title is employed for him as for other chiefs, is obviously due to oversight on the part of the writer. Other grants of Prithivīshēṇa II, including the second charter from Māṇḍhal itself, give a somewhat detailed account of the attainments of Narēndrasēna,[3] which is conspicuous by its absence in the charter under reference. It seems that the post-Pravarasēna II genealogical account of the grants of Prithivīshēṇa II was not yet finalised at the time the present grant was issued.[4] Narēndrasēna's son and successor, Prithivīshēṇa II, is also referred to only as the *mahārāja* of the Vākāṭakas. Other known records of Prithivīshēṇa II state that he was born of *Mahādēvī* Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā, was an abode of valour and forgiveness and had rescued his sunken family twice.[5] He is further styled *paramabhāgavata*, viz., a devout worshipper of Bhagavat, i.e., Vishṇu. None of these descriptions is found in the present inscription though his mother Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā is mentioned as Ajjhikabhaṭṭārikā in line 21. Next is recorded the object of the charter which is to register the grant of a village named Kurubhajjaka by Prithivīshēṇa II, the issuer of the grant, in favour of the brāhmaṇas Mahēśvarasvāmin, Agnisvāmin and Brahmasvāmin, the sons of Mātrisvāmin[6] and grandsons of Drōṇasvāmin, who are said to have belonged to the Kautsa *gōtra* and the Taittirīya *śākhā* of the *Yajurvēda*.[7] The grant was issued by the order of the king himself. The boundaries of the donated village are given as follows: It was situated to the west of Lavaṇatailaka, north of

1 In some charters *drishṭam* is found at the beginning of the first line and in others in the left margin. In the present case it is given at the beginning of the first line.

2 *CII.*, Vol. V, p. 35, text-line 1.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81, *Vidarbha Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika, 1971, pp. 53 ff.*

4 This may as well be due to the carelessness on the part of the composer or writer.

5 *CII.*, Vol. V, p. 81, text-line 33. Mirashi proposes to correct *dvi-magna-vaṅ(ṁ)s-ōddhartuḥ* of the original to *nimagna* etc. But we feel that *dvi* is meaningful and need not be regarded as an error.

6 Mātrisvāmin was evidently the donee of the Māṇḍhal plates of Pravarasēna II.

7 The relationship of these personages will be discussed in connection with the next grant.

Ishṭākapalli[1], east of the river Beṇṇā, and south of Gōvvasāhikā. The grant was given for the religious merit of the king's mother Ajjhikabhaṭṭārikā. The royal order regarding the grant was to be communicated to the *bhaṭas* (soldiers) and *chhātras* (policemen) under the ***kulaputras*** appointed by the *sarvvādhyaksha* (officer-in-charge of general administration). Information about the grant was also communicated to the agriculturist householders *(kuṭumbin)* headed by the brāhmaṇas. Privileges and exemptions conferred on the donees and traditionally due to the villages of the learned brāhmaṇas (lit., well-versed in the four Vēdas), which are enumerated, are the same as those found mentioned in other Vākāṭaka charters including the Māṇḍhal grant of Pravarasēna II and need not detain us here. Then are quoted a couple of imprecatory stanzas extolling the grant and its uninterrupted enjoyment.

The grant was made on the **12th day of the 7th fortnight in the second year**, evidently of the reign of Prithivīshēṇa II. It is noteworthy in this connection that the season date is not known to have been recorded in any other record of Prithivīshēṇa II so far.

At the time of this grant a certain Vishṇudatta occupied the office of *sēnāpati*, and the charter was written by one Śarvadatta, apparently under the supervision of the *sēnāpati*. It need hardly be stated that *sēnāpatis* are often mentioned in Vākāṭaka copper-plate charters in connection with their writing. *Sēnāpati* Vishṇudatta is not referred to in any other grant of Prithivīshēna known till now.

The inscription on the seal describes Prithivīshēṇa II as the son of Narēndrasēna, lord of the royal fortune of the Vākāṭakas and as eager for conquests and the record is said to be his charter of victory *(jayaśāsana)*. It will be noticed that the seal inscription is somewhat different in its contents and nature from those of Prabhāvatīguptā and Pravarasēna II, the only other members of the dynasty whose seals are known.

Before these plates were recovered in course of excavations at Māṇḍhal, only two copper-plate charters of Prithivīshēṇa II were known. Of these the Balaghat plates do not contain any date as well as other pieces of information generally found in he concluding portion because they were never completed. The other record, *viz.*, Mahurjhari grant, is dated the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the seventeenth year of his reign. The second Māṇḍhal grant, under publication in the following pages, was issued in the tenth year. It would thus follow that the present charter constitutes the earliest known record of Prithivīshēṇa II's reign.

Lastly, we may advert to the localities mentioned in the record. Most of the villages mentioned in connection with the grant may be identified in the Bhandara District to the east of the river Veṇā. The granted village Kurubhajjaka may be equated with modern Kurjjhā. Lavaṇatailaka seems to be identical with moder Lonara. It is note-

---

1 The reading in the original is *Ishṭākapalyōttarataḥ* which was in all probability intended for *Ishṭākapallyā uttarataḥ*, 'north of Ishṭākappalli'

worthy in this connection that, as stated in the record Kurjjhā is actually situated to the west of Lonara. Ishṭākapalli is apparently the same as the modern village of Īṁṭagāṁva (commonly spelt as Itgaon) which is to the south of Kurjjhā. This identification agrees not only with the directions specified in the record but is supported by the sameness of the meaning as well. The modern village of Gobī situated to the north of Kurjjhā is apparently the present representative of the village Govvasahikā. This equation also satisfies the geographical location of the village specified in the inscription. Beṇṇā (Vēṇā in Sanskrit literature) is undoubtedly the ancient name of the modern Wainganga. As specified in the record, the stream of Wainganga (Beṇṇā) flows to the west of the donated village. The directional specifications found in the inscription and the location of the modern identified villages agree with one another so very closely as to leave absolutely no doubt about the correctness of the proposed identifications. According to the inscription, these villages were included in the Uttara-paṭṭa, which, as indicated by the name itself, denoted the northern part of some administrative unit. Unfortunately, the administrative division in question has been left out unnamed, evidently due to oversight. Or it may not have been felt necessary. No administrative unit called Uttara-paṭṭa is mentioned in any other Vākāṭaka grant reported to date. It is, however, instructive to note in this connection that all the localities mentioned in connection with the grant in the present record are situated in the region on the Wainganga. Then again, in the Māṇḍhal plates of Pravarasēna II we find mention of the Apara-paṭṭa of the Beṇṇātaṭa division. It therefore appears that here also the Uttara-paṭṭa is mentioned with reference to the river Beṇṇā (modern Wainganga). However, as has been shown above, all the villages mentioned in our record are identifiable in the region to the east of the river Wainganga. It appears therefore that this administrative unit was connected with some other division. In view of these facts it may perhaps be conjectured that, whereas during Pravarasēna II's reign an administrative division was formed with reference to the river Wainganga, two generations later a new administrative division on some other basis in which the area on the eastern bank of Wainganga was included came into existance and was called Uttara-paṭṭa. Alternatively the mention of Uttara-paṭṭa in this record and that of Aparapaṭṭa in the Māṇḍhal charter of Pravarasēna II may be taken to imply that the administrative division of Beṇṇātaṭa was sub-divided into four units called Pūrvapaṭṭa, Aparapaṭṭa, Uttarapaṭṭa and Dakshiṇapaṭṭa. And finally, Rāmagiristhāna, from where the plates were issued, is apparently identical with the well-known Ramtek in the Nagpur District. The word *sthāna* is suffixed to the name Rāmagiri either because of the sanctity attached to it[1] or because it was the chief place of an administrative unit named after it. It may be added that the word *sthāna* is also attached to Beṇṇātaṭa, the place of issue of the second Māṇḍhal grant of Prithivīshēṇa II, edited hereafter.

1 *Cf. Mēghadūta*, Pūrvvamēgha, verse one which refers to the hermitages of Rāmagiri as endowed with waters rendered sacred due to the bath of Janaka's daughter, i.e., Sītā, and the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā (*CII.*, Vol. V, p. 35, text-line 1) which were issued from the footprints of Rāmagirisvāmin.

TEXT[1]

[Metres: Verses 1-2 *Anushṭubh*]

First Plate

1 [2] Dṛishṭa[m‖*] Rāmagiri-sthānād=agni[3]shṭōm-āptōryyām-ōkthya-shōḍaśy-atirātra-vājapa(pē)ya-

2 bṛihaspatisava--sādyaskra-chatur-aśvamēdha-yājinah [4] Vishṇuvṛiddha-sagōtrasya samrāṭ(jō)

3 Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrī-Pravarsēnasya sūnōh[5] sūnōh atyanta-svāmi-

4 Mahābhairava-bhaktasya aṁsa-bhāra-sanniva(vē)śita-śiva-liṅgād(ṅg-ōd)vahana-śiva-su-

5 paritushṭa-samutpādita-rājavaṁśānām=parākkram-ādhigata-Bhāgīrattyā(thy-ā)mala-jala-

6 mūrdnn[6]-ābhishiktānān=daś-āśvamēdh-āvbhṛitha-snātānāmbha(m=Bhā)raśivānām=mahārāja-śrī-Bhava-

Second Plate First Side

7 nāga-dauhitrasya Gautami(mī)-putrasya [putrasya*] Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrī-Rudrasēna-

8 sya sūnōḥ atyanta-māhēśvarasya saty-ārjjava-kāruṇya-śauryya-vikkrama- naya-

9 vinaya-māhātnya(tmya)-dhīmatva-pātra-gata-bhaktitva-dharmma-vijayitva-manō-nai-

10 [r*] mā(ma)lya(ly-ā)di-guṇa-samuditasya varsha-śatam=abhivarddhamāna-kōbha-(śa)-daṇḍa-sa—

---

1 From impressions.

2 There is a short horizontal stroke before *dṛishṭa.*

3 There is a superfluous dot in the circle indicating short medial *i* here as well as at many other places below.

4 *Sandhi* has not been observed here as well as at several other places.

5 The medial sign on right is attached too much below and is rather unusual.

6 Read *mūrddh-*

11 dhana-santāna-putra-pautriṇaḥ Yudhishṭhira-vrittēr=Vvākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrīḥ-Pṛi ḥ (Pṛi)-

12 thivīshēṇasya sūnōḥ bhagavataś=Chakrapāṇēḥ=prasād-ōpārjjita-śrī-samudayasya

Second Plate : Second Side

13 Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrī-Rudrasēnasya sūnōḥ[3] mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Dēva-

14 gupta-sutāyām=Prabhāvati(tī)guptāyām=utpannasya[4] Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrī-Pra-

15 varasēnasya sūnō[r*] =Nnarēndrasēna[sya*][5] satputrasya[6] [7] Vākāṭakānām=mahā-rāja-śrīḥ=Pri(Pṛi)thivi-

16 shēṇasya vachanāda(d=U)ttara-paṭṭē Lavaṇatailakasy=āparataḥ Ishṭākapa-

17 ly-ōttarataḥ Bennayaḥ=pūrvvataḥ Gōvvasāhikāyāḥ dakshiṇata[ḥ*] Kurubhajja-

18 [8]kan=nāma[9] nāmnā grāmaḥ atra cha brāhmaṇa-purōga[ḥ*] grāmā- pratinivāsinō (naḥ) kuṭumbi-

---

1 There is a superfluous stroke in this letter.

2 The medial stroke for *ā* is brought down too much below and has an unusual form.

3 Hereafter the expressions *pūrvva-rājānumārggānusāriṇaḥ* and *sunayana-bala-parākram-ōchchhinna-sarvva-dvishaḥ* are found used as adjectives of Pravarasēna II in the Balaghat (*CII*, Vol. V, p. 81, ll.20-22) and Mahurjhari (*VSMV*, 1971, p. 75, ll.17-18), plates of Pṛithivīshēṇa II They are also found in the Siwani plates of Pravarasēna II (*CII*, Vol. V, p. 30, ll.14-15).

4 After this, the Balaghat (ibid., p. 81, 11.23 25) and Mahurjhari (*VSMV*, 1975, p. 75, 11.19-20) plates have *Vākāṭaka-vaṁś-ālaṁkāra-bhūtasya Śambhōḥ prasāda-dhṛita-Kārttayugasya.*

5 Before the name Narēndrasēna, one would expect the expression *Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrī* which appears to have been omitted by oversight. In the Balaghat (*CII.*, Vol. V, p. 81, ll. 26-29) and Mahurjhari (*VSMV* 1971, p 75, ll 21-23) plates, after *Pravarasēnasya sūnōḥ*, we find the following epithets Mēkalā *pūrv-ādhigata-guṇa-viśvāsād=apahṛita-vaṁśa-śriyaḥ*, *Kōsala-Mālav-ādhipati[bhi]r=abhyarchchita-śāsanasya* and *pratāpa-praṇat-āriśaśānasya* employed for Narēndrasēna.

6 In the Bālāghat (*CII*, Vol. IV, p. 81, l. 30) and Mahurjhari plates, we find *sūnōḥ* in place of *satputrasya* of the present plates.

7 Before this, the Balaghat plates (*CII*, Vol. IV, p. 81, ll 30-33) contain for Pṛithivīshēṇa II the expression *Kuntalādhipati-sutāyām mahādēvyām=Ajjhita-bhaṭṭārikāyām=utpannasya tējaḥ kshamā-sannidhānabhūtasya dvimagna-vaṁś-ōddhartuḥ* while in the Mahurjhari plates (*VSMV.*, 1971, p 76, ll. 25-26), we have *atyanta-bhāgavatsya* between °*utpannasya* and *tējaḥ kshamā-sannidhānabhūtasya.*

8 There is a superfluous horizontal line above the letter.

9 The word *nāmnā* is redundant.

TWO MĀṆḌHAL COPPER PLATE CHARTERS OF PṚITHIVĪSHĒṆA II

A. Kuruvajjaka Grant, Year 2

PLATE I

i

ii a

ii b

iii a

SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

Third Plate : First Side

19 naś=cha vaktavyā[ḥ*] yathē(th=ai)sha grāmaḥ sva-sīmā-parichchha(chchhē)dēn=
ānya-grāma-sīmā-varjja[m*] Tai-

20 ttirika-Kautsa-sagōtra-Drōṇasvāmi-putra-Mātṛisvāmi-putrāṇā[2] Mahēśvarasvā-

21 mi-Agnisvāmi-Brahmasvāmmnētı[3] mātur=Ajjhikabhaṭṭārikāya (yā)ḥ=puṇy-ōpa-

22 chayē[4] aihik-āmushmikē [5] dharmma-sthānē apūrvadatyā(ttyā) udaka-pu(pū)rvvam=
atisṛishṭaḥ[|*]

23 yatō=smat-santakā[h*] sarvvādhyaksha-niyōgā(ga)-niyukt-ājñā-sañchāri-kulaputr-ādhi-
kṛitā

24 bhaṭāś=chhātrāś= ch=ādhyushita-purvvā[h] mam=ājñā(jña)y=ājñāpayitavyaḥ viditam=
astu vaḥ

Third Plate : Second Side

25 yath=ēh=āsmābhir=ātmanō dharmm-āyur-bbala-vijay-aiśvaryya-vivṛiddhayē ih-
āmutra-

26 hitārttham=ātm-ānugrahāya vi(vai)jayikē dharmma-sthānē abhaṭa-chchha(chchhā)
tra-prāvēśya[ḥ*] apā-

27 rampara-gō-bala(lī)vardda[h*] a-pushpa-kshīra-sandōha[ḥ*] a-chār-āsana-charmm-
āngāra[h*] a-

28 lavana-kiṇva[6] -krēṇi-khanakaḥ sarvva-vēshṭi-parihāra-parihṛitaḥ sa-parikli(klṛi)-

29 pt-ōparikliptaḥ[7] ā-chandr-āditya-kālīya[h*] putra-pautr-ānugāmi bhuñjatā(tō)
na kēnachi-

---

1 Note that the lower stroke on left is joined with cross-bar

2 Read *putrēbhyō.*

3 Read *svāmibhyaḥ iti*

4 Read *-ōpachayārtham.*

5 Read *-aihik-āmushmika.* This should have come before *puṇy-ōpachayārtham.*

6 In some grants of the Vākāṭakas we have *klinna* in place of *kiṇva.* The Mahurjhari plates also have *kiṇva.* The suggestion of V B Kolte to correct it to *klinna* is uncalled for

7 Read *-ōpakḷriptaḥ*

30 d=vyāghātaḥ=karttavyaḥ sarvva-kkriyābhis=saṁrakshitavyaḥ parivarddhayitavyaś=
cha[|*] yaś=chā-

Fourth Plate : First Side

31 smaśchhā(ch=chhā)sanam=agana(ṇa)yamānaḥ svalpām=api paribā[dhā*]nku(n=ku)
ryyāt=kārayitā cha tasya

32 brāhmaṇair=vvēditasya sa-daṇḍa-ṇi(ni)grahaṁ kuryyāma[ḥ*|] Uchitā[ṁ*]ś=ch=
āsya pūrvva-rāj-ā

33 numatāñ=chātur-vvaidya-grāma-maryyādā-parihārān=vitarāmaḥ [|*] tad=yathā a-

34 kara-dāyi daṇḍa-ṇi(ni)graha[ṁ*] kuryyāmaḥ [1*] api cha dharmm-ādhi[1] karaṇē
atīt-ānēka-

35 rāja-dattā(tta)-sasyāntāna[2]-paripālan-ārttha[ṁ] kīrttayāmaḥ [|*] ēshya tat-kāla-
prabha-vishnu-

36 gauravād=bhavishyān=vijñāya(pa)yāmaḥ[|*] Vyāsa-gītau ch=ātra ślōkau pramāṇī-
karttavyau[3]

Fourth Plate : Second Side

37 Sva-datnā(ttāṁ) para-datnā(ttāṁ) vvā(vā) yō harēta vasundharā[m|*] gavā[ṁ*]
śata-sahasrasya

38 hantuḥ=pibati dushkṛitaṁ(tam) [||1*] Shashṭi-varshi(sha)-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati
bhūmidaḥ[|*]

39 a(ā)chchhēttā ch ānumantā cha [tā][4]ny =ēva narakē di[5] vasēdditi[6] Sa[ṁ*] vva(va)-
tsarē dviti(tī)yē

---

1 Read *-ādara-*

2 Read *-sañchintana-*

3 There is a horizontal stroke here for a punctuation mark.

4 After engraving about 15 more letters, the engraver found out that he had inadvertantly omitted the letter *tā*. He subsequently erased all those letters and engraved them after engraving *tā*. [Ed.]

5 This letter is redundant.

6 Read *vasēd* [||*] *iti*[|*].

A. Kuruvajjaka Grant, Year 2

PLATE II

iii b

iv a

iv b

SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

SEAL

SCALE : ONE-HALF

40 gra(grī)shma-pakshē saptamē divasē dvādaśē sēṇā(nā)patau Vishnudattē

41 likhitaṁ Śarvvadantē(ttē)n=ēti [||*]

Seal

1 Narēndrasēna-sat=sūnōḥ

2 bhartur=vVākāṭaka-śriyaḥ [|*]

3 Pṛi(Pṛi)thivi(vī)shēṇa-nṛipatē[ḥ*]

4 jigīshōr=jjaya-śāsanna(nam)[1] [||*]

II. *Māṇḍhal Grant of Pṛithivīshēṇa II, Year 10*

This charter consists of a set of five *plates* of which one plate has been left completely blank on either side. Of the remaining plates, the first is engraved only on the inner side and the remaining three plates bear writing on both sides. The plates are rectangular. Their measurements are not uniform; their breadth (or height), length and thickness slightly vary from each other. The first plate measures 18.2 cms. in length and 9.7 cms. in height and is 0.3 cms. thick. The height, length and thickness of the second plate are 9.6, 18.3 and 0.4 cm. respectively. Plates 3 and 4 are 9.8 cms. high, 18.4 cms. broad and 0.5 cm. thick. The last plate measures 9.8 cms. high, 18.2 cms. broad and 0.4 cm. thick. Nearly in the middle of the left margin of each plate there is bored a roughly circular hole through which is passed a circular ring of copper, 0.6 cm. in thickness, with a diameter ranging between 10.9 and 9.6 cms. On the ring slides a round seal of copper provided with a perforated handle, also of copper, for the insertion of the ring. The seal-disc is 8.4 cms. in diameter and 0.3 cm. thick. The upper surface of the disc, like most other seals attached to Vākāṭaka copper-plate charters, bears a four-line inscription in the *Anushṭubh* metre. The total weight of the five plates, ring and the seal is 2700 gms.

There are in all forty-six lines of writing of which the inscribed faces of the first three plates bear seven lines each, while we have six lines on the first side of the fourth plate and five lines on its outer side.

Like those of practically all the Vākāṭaka inscriptions including those of Pṛithivīshēṇa II himself, the characters of the present record belong to the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. In general appearance they agree closely with the earlier grant of Pṛithivīshēṇa II from Māṇḍhal. And this is as it ought to be. For, the present plates are removed from the previous ones only by eight years and the *sēnāpati* and the writer of both the records are identical. Only a few points deserve attention. The letter *j* has a box attached to the left top of the letter as a result of which the upper portion

1. The metre of this verse is *Anushṭubh*

becomes larger and assumes a somewhat strange shape. *T* is generally with a box, but one without it can be seen in °*vaṭa*°, line 22. The letter *b* generally takes the form of a plain square, but in line 35 we find its upper portion constricted on the left. The circle indicating medial *i* is sometimes open on the left bottom; for example, see lines 1, 2, 4, 22, 24, etc. Sometimes in the akshara *mē* the medial sign for *ē* is attached on top (see °*kkramēchchha*°, line 14) as in the case of other letters as against the usual practice of attaching it lower down. The *anusvāra* is formed variously by a dot (lines 1, 16), a hollow point (line 34), a semi-circle open at the bottom (lines 5, 4, 36) or to right (line 39) and a vertical (line 19) or oblique stroke (lines 42, 46). This as well as *visarga* which also assumes various forms is evidently due to irregular formation. The sign of *upadhmānīya* is met with in lines 12, 21 and 23. It may be noted that at the right end of most of the lines we find two almost semi-circular strokes placed one below the other, perhaps to indicate the conclusion of the lines.

The record is composed in **Sanskrit**, and but for a couple of imprecatory stanzas at the end and the metrical legend on the seal the entire record is in prose. From the point of view of **orthography**, reduplication of the consonant following *r* (*eg.*, °*ptōryyāmō*°, line 1; *mūrddhā*°, line 6; °*tyārjjava*, line 9; *śauryya*°, line 9, *dharmma*°, line 10; *nairmmalyā*°, line 10, etc.) and that of the letter *k* preceding *r* (*eg.*, °*parākkramā*°, lines 5-6; *vikkrama*°, line 9; °*śchakkra*°, line 12; *parākkramē*°, line 14; °*kkrinē*°, line 31; °*kkriyā*°, line 34) are noteworthy. The consonants preceding *y* are also sometimes found reduplicated. See, for example, *Bhāgīratthyā*° in line 6 and *sarvvāddhyaksha* in line 27. The same is true of the letter *v* following a supposed *anusvāra* as in the case of *dattā vvā* in line 42 and *savvatsarō* in line 44. Grammatical errors are too many to be enumerated. This is, of course, true of most of the Vākāṭaka records.

Like other authentic charters of the dynasty, the present record also commences with the word *dṛishṭam*, 'seen', followed by the mention of Beṇṇātaṭa-sthāna wherefrom the charter was issued. Thereafter is given the genealogical account of the Vākāṭakas beginning with **Pravarasēna I** and terminating with **Pṛithivīshēna II** which is identical with that met with in other records of the king with the solitary exception of the previous inscription. It is instructive to note in this connection that some of the adjectival expressions employed for Narēndrasēna and his son Pṛithivīshēṇa II in the latter's Mahurjhari and the incomplete Balaghat charters are met with in the present record also. It appears therefore that the portion of Pṛithivīshēṇa II's charters describing Narēndrasēna and his son and successor Pṛithivīshēṇa was standardised by the time of the present record. The object of the inscription is to register the grant of the village Gōvasāhikā by the king in favour of the brāhmaṇas Mahēśvarasvāmin, Brahmasvāmin, Harasvāmin and Varāhasvāmin. All the donees were inhabitants of Beṇṇātaṭa and belonged to the Kautsa *gōtra*.[1] Although it is not stated in the present charter, we learn from the Māṇḍhal plates of Pravarasēna II and the previous charter of Pṛithivī-

1 Mahesvarasvāmin is referred to as of *Kautsa-sagōtra* while the adjective *tat=sagōtra* is employed for Brahmasvāmin and Harasvāmin and no such expression is employed for Varāhasvāmin.

shēṇa II that all these brāhmaṇas were attached to the Taittirīya śākhā of the black *Yajurvēda*. In our record there is no reference to the ancestors of the brāhmaṇa grantees. But it is known from the previous Māṇḍhal plates of Prithivīshēṇa II that Mahēśvarasvāmin and Brahmasvāmin, who along with their brother Agnisvāmin were recipients of the land-grant made through that charter, were the sons of Mātṛisvāmin and grandsons of Drōṇasvāmin. In all probability the other two donees, *viz.*, Harasvāmin and Varāhasvāmin, were also similarly related to Drōṇasvāmin and Mātṛisvāmin. It is interesting to note in this connection that Mātṛisvāmin was the donee of the Māṇḍhal plates of Pravarasēna II. It would, thus, follow that the grants conveyed through the Māṇḍhal plates of Pravarasēna II and Prithivīshēṇa II were made in favour of two generations of the brāhmaṇas. It may further be concluded that Mātṛisvāmin's father, who is simply described as *apratigrāhaka upādhyāya*, was no other than Drōṇasvāmin. The donated village, Gōvaśāhikā, lay in Uttarapaṭṭa and was situated to the west of the village Śulkavaṭa, to the north of Kurubhañjaka, to the east of the river Beṇṇā, and to the south of Piḍērikā. Next are mentioned the privileges and exemptions conveyed along with the grant which are the same as those met with in the previous charter. The two imprecatory stanzas found in the previous record are also repeated here. The grant was made on the '**first day of the first fortnight of the summer season in the tenth year of the king's reign.** At that time Vishṇudatta held the office of *sēnāpati*, and the charter was written by Śarvvadatta. *Sēnāpati* Vishṇudatta and Śarvvadatta are mentioned in the same role in the previous charter also. It appears therefore that at least from the second to at least the tenth regnal year of Prithivīshēṇa II, Vishṇudatta occupied the office of *sēnāpati*. It is known from the Mahurjhari plates that in the seventeenth year of Prithivīshēṇa II this office was held by Ravidatta.[1] It may therefore be reasonably concluded that Vishṇudatta was succeeded or replaced as *sēnāpati* by Ravidatta sometime between the tenth and seventeenth years of the reign of Prithivīshēṇa II.

It would be instructive to discuss here briefly a phrase occurring in Prithivīshēṇa II's charters. In the present as well as the Mahurjhari plates Prithivīshēṇa is described as *magna-vaṁś=oddhartṛi*, 'resurrector of the sunken family'.[2] In the incomplete Balaghat plates the word *dvi* is found prefixed to this expression.[3] This second calamity befell the Vākāṭaka kingdom obviously sometime after the seventeenth year of the reign of Prithivīshēṇa II, the date of the Mahurjhari plates. If this point is conceded, it will appear that the Balaghat plates have to be dated sometime after the seventeenth year of his reign. The seal inscription is identical with that on the seal of the previous charter.

1 *Vidarbha Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍhala Vārshika*, 1971, p. 77, text-line 52.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 76, text-line 26.

3 *CII.*, Vol. V, p. 81, text-line 33. According to Mirashi, however, the intended reading was *nimagna-vaṁś=ōddhartuḥ*, *dvi* being an error for *ni*. See *ibid.*, p. 81, note 7.

It appears therefore that at least from the second to at least the tenth year of the reign of Prithivīshēṇa II, Vishṇudatta occupied the office of *sēnāpati*. It is known from the Mahurjhari plates that in the seventeenth year of Prithivīshēṇa II this office was held by Ravidatta.[1] It may therefore be reasonably concluded that Vishṇudatta was succeeded or replaced as *sēnāpati* by Ravidatta sometime between the tenth and seventeenth regnal years of Prithivīshēṇa II. The possibility of some other person occupying this office during the intervening period cannot also be altogether ruled out. Only future epigraphical discoveries can settle this point.

It would be further instructive to discuss here briefly a couple of phrases occurring in Prithivīshēṇa II's charters. The expression commencing with the word *pūrvvā* in line 17 of the present record is met with in connection with the description of Narēndrasēna in the Mahurjhari and Balaghat plates as well. While editing the latter record, which was the first charter of Prithivīshēṇa II to be discovered, F. Kielhorn doubtfully proposed to restore this portion as *pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇa-viśvāsād=apahṛita-vaṁśa-śriyaḥ,*[2] and this reading has been adopted by V.V. Mirashi also.[3] V.B. Kolte finds the same reading in the Mahurjhari grant, though, as will be pointed out in the sequel, erroneously.[4] Kielhorn, followed by other scholars, took this phrase to mean that Narēndrasēna, 'from confidence in excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away (or appropriated) the family's fortune'.[5] He felt that it contained an allusion to a conflict for succession and that Narēndrasēna took away the kingdom (probably from an elder brother).[6] Mirashi observed, on the other hand, that no reference to a disputed succession is intended and that this is only a poetic way of saying that Narēndrasēna attracted royal fortune by his noble qualities.[7] The present inscription affords valuable help to solve this problem. The relevant expression in our record is indubitably *pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇavad=dayād-āpahṛita-vaśa-śriyaḥ* which can only be restored as *pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇavad=dāyād-āpahṛita-vaṁśa-śriyaḥ*. On checking we find that although Kolte follows Kielhorn and Mirashi unquestioningly and reads the expression in question as *pūrvv-adhigata-guṇa-viśvāsād=apahṛita-vaṅśa(vaṁśa)-śriya [ḥ]*[8] the facsimile illustrating his article clearly gives the reading *pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇavad=dayād-āpahṛita-vaṅśa(vaṁśa)-śriya[ḥ]* which is even more correct than that found in the Māndhal plates in question. It appears that the Balaghat plates also contained the same reading though it was badly engraved to make it doubtful. There is absolutely no doubt about the reading *pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇa;* the next letter is apparently *va,* though the lower portion of the square

---

1 *Vidarbha Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1971, p. 77, text-line 52.

2 Above, Vol. IX, p. 271, text-lines 26-27 and note 6. Also see p. 269, note 2.

3 *CII.*, Vol. V, p. 81, text-lines 26-27.

4 *Vidarbha Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1971, p. 75, text-lines 21-22.

5 Above, Vol. IX, p. 269. Mirashi merely dropped the alternative word 'appropriated' and replaced 'the *(royal)* fortune of *(his) family*' for 'the family's fortune'. See *CII.*, Vol. V, p. 81.

6 Above Vol. IX, p. 269.

7 *CII.*, Vol. V, Introduction, p. XXV.

8 *Vidarbha Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1971, Pl. VI.

of this letter is not accommodated in the plate; what is read as medial *i* is just a meaningless scratch. The following letter, though looking somewhat like *śvā*, is actually wrongly engraved *ddā* with its right openings closed by oversight. The next letter is clarly *yā*, though in order to make the expression yield sense it was doubtfully read as *sā* by Kielhorn and others who followed him. Thereafter a letter was wrongly engraved and then cancelled. The letter following it is, as read by earlier scholars, *da*. It will thus follow that the correct reading of this portion is *pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇavad=dāyād-āpahṛita-vaṁśa-śriyaḥ*, and the word *viśvāsād*, read so far in these charters, disappears altogether. The expression thus restored assumes great historical importance as it refers to an hitherto unknown episode during the reign of Narēndrasēna in which his *dāyādas* were involved. We propose to break this phrase as *pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇavad-dāyādēna apahṛitā vaṁśa-śrīḥ yasya tasya.*[1] If this is accepted, it would mean that Narēndrasēna had first succeeded to his family fortune, i.e., throne, but was later divested of it by a *dāyāda* (or *dāyādas*). The word *dāyāda* primarily means heirs to property, viz., sons or brothers with reference to each other who are entitled to inheritance: Following this primary meaning, it would appear that Narēndrasēna was deprived of his kingdom by his cosharers (brothers or other close relations) during the later part of his career. It would thus follow that the death of Pravarasēna II was followed by a struggle for succession in which his son (or one of the sons) Narēndrasēna was at first successful, but at a later stage some other *dāyāda* got an upper hand and seized the family fortune. The word *dāyāda*, however, has a secondary meaning also, i.e., a distant relative or kinsman,[2] and if this meaning were intended here, it may as well allude to some conflict between the two branches (Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma) of the Vākāṭakas during Narēndrasēna's reign in which Narēndrasēna was ultimately worsted.[3] It is not possible to be more precise on this question in the absence of more evidence, but there can be absolutely no doubt that the expression throws welcome light on the history of the Nandivardhana-Pravarapura branch of the

---

1 This expression can as well be split up as *pūrvv-ādhigata guṇavatō dāyādād=āpahṛitā vaṁśa-śrīḥ yēna tasya* or *pūrvv-ādhigata=guṇavatō dāyādād=apahṛitā vaṁśa-śrīḥ yēna tasya* or *pūrvv-ādhigatēna guṇavatā dāyādēna apahṛitā vaṁśa-śrīḥ yasya tasya.* But they do not yield a satisfactory sense.

2 For the meaning of *dāyāda*, see *Amara-kōśa* (Nirnaya-Sagar Press, Bombay, 1944), III 3. 89; Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 474, s.v. *dāyāda* Also see P.V. Kane, *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, III (Poona, 1946), pp. 543-544.

3 The use of the word *guṇavat* as an adjective of the *dāyāda* who was the source of calamity is rather enigmatic. The intention may have been to say that even though the *dāyāda* was endowed with good qualities, he indulged in an act like seizing his relative's (Narēndrasēna's) throne. Alternatively, the word may have been used in the sense of *gauṇa*, a derivative of *guṇa*, with reference to a member of the Vatsagulma branch of the dynasty.

Vākāṭakas and gives a rude jolt to the belief that the succession among the Vākāṭakas was peaceful and the relations between their two branches were invariably cordial.

In the present as well as the Mahurjhari plates[1] Prithivīshēṇa II is described as *magna-vaṁś=ōddhartṛi,* 'resurrector of the sunken family'. In the incomplete Balaghat plates the word *dvi* is found prefixed to this expression.[2] According to Kielhorn[3] and V.V. Mirashi,[4] *nimagna-vaṁśasy=ōddhartuḥ* is the intended reading, *dvi* being an error for *ni.* But at the time they wrote no other copper plate charter of Prithivīshēṇa II was known and the suggestion might have looked plausible. But now that his two earlier records, which have been discovered subsequently, are known to contain the word *magna* without the prefix *ni* or *dvi,* it is obvious that the employment of the word *dvi* is deliberate and that the composer of the Balaghat charter wanted to credit his patron with the resurrection of the sunken family twice as against the other two grants wherein he was just described as the resurrector of the sunken family. This second calamity befell the Vākāṭaka kingdom sometime after the seventeenth year of the reign of Prithivīshēṇa II when the Mahurjhari plates were issued. While any precision regarding the two calamities is at present out of question, the first calamity was apparently that which had resulted in the dethronement of his father Narēndra-sēna by a close relative, and the first task that Prithivīshena II must have been called upon to face after his accession was to restore fallen family fortunes. The second calamity may have been the Nala invasion which seems to have resulted in occupation of a part of the kingdom of the Nandivardhana branch of the Vakatakas.[5] Needless to stress that the Balaghat plates have to be dated sometime after the seventeenth year of his reign.

In view of what has been said above the claim that Narēndrasēna's commands were obeyed by the lords of Kōsalā, Mēkalā and Mālava appears somewhat exaggerated. At least no independent evidence to substantiate this claim has come to light so far. The claim in respect of Mēkalā (the Amarkantak region) was till recently sought to be supported on the ground that the Bamhani plates contained a veiled allusion to Narēndrasēna and that Bharatabala, the Pāṇḍava king of Mēkalā, who was till recently supposed to have issued these plates, was regarded as a feudatory of Narendrasena.[6] But the recently discovered Mallar plates have shown convincingly that these assumptions are unfounded. Moreoever, as we have shown elsewhere, both Bharatabala and his son Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira flourished considerably after Narēndrasēṇa and there is no question of any one of them acknowledging his suzerainty.[7]

1 *Vidarbha Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika,* 1971, p. 76, text-line 26.

2 Above, Vol. IX, p. 271, text-line 33.

3 *Ibid.,* p. 271, note 15. Kielhorn put an interrogation mark after *ni.*

4 *CII.,* Vol. V, p. 81, note 7.

5 The Riddhapur charter of the Nala king Bhavadattavarman was issued from Nandivardhana. See above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff.

6 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 137-138; *CII.,* Vol. V, pp. 83-84. This assumption was based on the word *narēndra* in verse 11 of this inscription which was supposed to make a veiled reference to Vākāṭaka Narēndrasēna. But the recent discovery of the Mallar plates of Bharatabala's son Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira *(Studies in Indian Epigraphy,* Vol. III, pp. 183-193) has shown that the Bamhani plates also belong to Śūrabala *alias* Udīrṇavaira and that there is no pun on the word *narēndra* which is used simply in the sense of 'king'.

7 *Bhāratī-bhānam* (Dr. K.V. Sarma Felicitation Volume), Hoshiarpur, 1980, pp. 439-443.

We may now refer to the localities mentioned in our record. The donated village Gōvasāhikā is referred to as a bordering village in the previous charter and has been identified in that connection. The same is true of the river Beṇṇā. Kurubhañjaka, spelt as Kurubhejñaka, said to have formed the southern boundary of the donated village, seems to be identical with Kurubhajjaka mentioned in the previous record. It has already been identified in connection with that charter. It is difficult to say anything definitely about Śulkavaṭa. It is not impossible that it denoted a banyan tree situated close to an octroi post on the border of the donated village. However, the word *nāman* -used after it perhaps indicates that it was the name of a village. It is not possible to identify it at present and the name appears to have undergone a change beyond recognition. But a look at the map of the surrounding area shows that this village was situated about the same place where at present Kōsra is situated. This village is exactly to the east of the village identified with Gōvasāhikā. Piḍērikā situated to the north of Gōvasāhikā seems to be represented at present by the modern village of Peṭāri. Its location agrees exactly with its description in the inscription. The administrative division called Uttara-paṭṭa is referred to in the previous charter also and has been discussed at the proper place. Beṇṇātaṭa-sthāna, wherefrom the grant was issued, was evidently the headquarters of the administrative unit named Beṇṇātaṭa. It may be equated with the village of Ṭhāṇā situated on the western bank of the river Wainganga in the Nagpur District.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verses 1-2 *Anushṭubh*]

First Plate

1 Dṛishṭa[m*||] Bēṇṇātaṭa-sthānād=agnishṭā(shṭō)ma(m-ā)ptōryyāma(m=o)thya (kthya)-shōḍaśy-atirātra-vājapēya-

2 bṛihaspatisava-sādyaskra-chatur-aśvavō(mē)dha-yāja(ji)naḥ Vishō(shnu)vṛiddha-sagōtrasya[3]

3 samrā[jō*]Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya sūnōḥ sūnōḥ atya-

4 nta-svāmi-Mahābhairava-bhaktasya a[ṁ]sa-bhāra-sannē(nni)vēśita-Śiva-la(li)ṅg-ō-

---

1 From impressions.

2 The form of *ha* is rather unusual as the hook attached to its right is formed by extending to right the top line of the box. It looks more like *pā*.

3 Two semi-circles open to right are found at the end of this as well as other lines/

5 dvahana-śiva-su-paritushṭa-samutpādita-rājavaṁśānām=parākkra-

6 m-ādhigata-Bhāgīratthya(thy-ā)mala-jala-mūrddh-ābhishiktānān=daś-āśvamēdh-āva-bhṛitha-snā-

7 tānām=Bhāraśivānām=mahārāja-śrī-Bhavanāga-dauhitrasya Gautamīputrasya

Second Plate : First Side

8 putrasya Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrī-Ra(Ru)drasēnasya sūnōḥ atyanta-māhēśvara-sya

9 saty-ārjjava-kāraṇḍa[1]-śauryya-vikkrama-naya-vinaya-māhātmya-dhi(dhī)pa(ma)tva-pātra-gata-va(bha)ktitva-

10 dharmma-vajayi[2]-vijayitva-manō-nairmmaly-ādi-guna(ṇa)-samuditasya varsha-śatam-abhivarvra(vardha)-

11 māna-kōśa-dadhdā(ṇḍa)-sādhana-santāna-putra-pautriṇaḥ Yudhishṭhira[3]--vṛittēḥ(ttē)-

12 r=Vvākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrīḥ-Pri(Pṛi)thivīshēna(ṇa)sya sūnaḥ(nōḥ) bhagavataś=Chakkrapāṇiḥ(ṇēḥ)

13 prasād-ōpārjjita-śrī-samudayasya Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrī-Rudrasēnasyaḥ(sya)

14 sūnō[ḥ] pūrvva-rāj-ānuvṛitta-mārgga(gg-ā)nusāriṇaḥ su-naya-bala-parākkramē(m-ō)chchha(chchhi)nna-sarvva[4]-

---

1 Read *kāruṇya-*

2 This word is redundant.

3 In this conjunct letter instead of the subscript letter *ṭh* the sign for medial *u* is wrongly added.

4 An unnecessary curve on top makes the *rēpha* sign appear like the sign for medial *i*. There is an unnecessary *visarga* mark at the end of this line.

TWO MĀṆḌHAL COPPER PLATE CHARTERS OF PṚITHIVĪSHĒṆA II

B. Gōvasāhikā Grant, Year 10

i

iia

K.V. Ramesh

ii b

iii a

SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

Second Plate : Second Side

15 vvi(dvi)paḥ(shaḥ) mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Dēvagupta-suta(tā)pā(yā)m=Prabhāvati(tī)-gupta(ptā)yām=utpanna-

16 sya[1] Vākāṭaka-vaṁś-ālaṅkārabhūtasya mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya sūnōḥ

17 pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇavad=da(dā)yād-āpahrita[2]-va[ṁ*] śa-śriya[ḥ*] Kōsalā-Mēkalā-Ma(Mā)lav-ā-

18 dhipati[bhi*]r=abhyarchchita-śāsanasya Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrī-Narēndra-

19 sēnasya sūno[ḥ*] Kuntal-ādhipati-sutāyā[ṁ*] mahādēvyām= Ajjhi [ta][bha*][3]-ṭṭāri-

20 kāyām=utpanu(nna)sya atyanta-bhāgavatasya tēja[ḥ*] kshamā-ya(sa)nnidhā nabhūt-asya

21 [ma*]gga(gna)-va[ṁ*]ś-ōddha[r]tu[ḥ*] Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrīḥ=Pri(Pṛi)thivī-shēna(ṇa)sya vachanā [t*][4]

Third Plate : First Side

22 Uttarapaṭṭē Śulkavaṭānām=aparataḥ Kurubhe(bha)jña[5](ñja)kasy=ōttarataḥ Bēnnā-nadyā-

23 ḥ=pūrvvataḥ Piḍērikāyā[ḥ*] dakshiṇataḥ Gōvasāhikā-nāma namna[6] grāmaḥ sva-sī-

24 mā-parichchha(chchhē)dēn-ānya-grāmā-si(sī)ma(mā)-varjjaḥ Bennataṭaka[7]-Kā(Kau)tsa-sagōtra-Mahēśvara-

25 svāminē ētat=sagōtra-Brahmasvāminē ētat=sagōtra-Harasvāminē

26 Varāhasvāmin=eti[8] aihik-āmushmikē dharmma-sthānē dattaḥ [|*] Yatō=sma-

1 Śambhōḥ prasāda-dhṛita-Kārttayugasya found in the Balaghat and Mahurjhari plates in left out. Other plates have *Vākāṭakānām* before *mahārāja*.

2 In other inscriptions this portion has been sought to be restored as *pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇa-viśvāsād=apahrita-*

3 A superfluous stroke was incised above this letter and later cancelled. The form of subscribed *jh* is unusual and imperfectly formed.

4 There is a *visarga*- like punctuation after the letter *nā*.

5 The form of *jña* is unusual.

6 This word is superfluous.

7 Better supply the word *-vāstavya* here.

8 Read °*svāminē iti*.

27 tya(t=sa)ntakā[ḥ*] sarvvādhyaksha-niyōga-niyukt-ā[jñā] sagvā(ñchā)ri-kulaputr-ādhikṛita-bhaṭa(ṭā)-

28 ś=chchhā(ś=chhā)trāś=ch=āddhyushita-pu(pū)rvvā[ḥ*] mam=ājñay=ājñāpayitavyā[ḥ*] viditam=astu vaḥ yatō=smāmi(bhi)-

Third Plate : Second Side

29 r=ātmanō dharmm-āyur-bbala-vijayē(y-ai)śvaryya-vivṛiddhayē[i] h-āmutra-hitārt-tham=ātm-ā-

30 nugrahāya vaijayi [kē*] dharmma-sthānē abhaṭa-chchha(chchhā)tra-prāvēśyaḥ a-pārampara-

31 gō-kha(ba)la(lī)vardda[ḥ*] a-pushpa-kshīra-sandōha[ḥ*] a-chār-āsana-charmm-āṅg-āra[ḥ*] a-lavaṇa-kkri(kli)nē(nna)-

32 khanaka[ḥ*] sarvva-vēshṭi-parihāra-parihṛita[ḥ*] sa-parikli(klri)pt-ōpapari-

33 kli(klṛi)pta[ḥ*] krikha[1] a(ā)-chandr-āditya[2]-kāla(lī)yaḥ putra-pautr-ānugāmi [kaḥ*] bhuñjatā[ṁ*] na[2]

34 ka(kē)nachiddyā(d=vyā)hā(ghā)na(ta)ḥ=karttavyaḥ sarvva-kkriyābhis=saṁrakshita-vya[ḥ] para(ri)varddhayitavyaś=cha[3]

35 yaś=ch=asmach=chhāsanam=agana(ṇa)yamānaḥ svalpām=api paribādhānku(ṅ=ku)-ryyā-[4]

---

1 These two letters are unnecessary.

2 There is an unnecessary *visarga* mark here.

3 There is a *visarga*-like punctuation mark at the end of this line.

4 There is an unnecessary *visarga* mark here.

B. Gōvasāhikā Grant, Year 10

PLATE IV

iii b

iv a

iv b

SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

SEAL

SCALE : ONE-HALF

Fourth Plate : First Side

36 t=kārayitā vā tasya khrā(brā)hmaṇa(ṇai)vvi(r=vvē)dē(di)tasya sa=dadhdā(ṇḍa)-nigraham kuryyāmaḥ [||*]

37 apūrvva-dattā(ttyā) udakapūrvvam=atisṛishṭaḥ[1] [|*] uchitā[ṁ*] ś=ch=āsya pū[r*]vva-rāj-ānumatā [ṁ*][2]

38 ś=chātur=vvaidya-grāma-maryyādā-parihārān=vitarāmaḥ [|*] tad=yathā a-kara-vā(dā)yi[2]

39 dadhda(ṇḍa)-ṇi(ni)graha[ṁ] kuryyāmaḥ [|*] api cha dharmm-adhi[3] karaṇa a-ti(tī)t-ānēka-rā-

40 ja-dattā(tta)-sasyāntāna[4]-paripālan-ārttha[ṁ*] kīrttayāmaḥ ['*] ēshya tat=kāla-prabha-vishu(shṇu)-

41 gauravādvad(d=bha)vishyān=viji(jñā)payāmah [1*] Vyasa-gi(gī)tō(tau) ch=ātra ślōkō(kau) pramāṇi(ṇī)·karttavyō(vyau) [|*]

Fourth Plate : Second Side

42 Sa(Sva)-dattām=para-dattāvvāḥ[5] yō harēta vasundharāḥ(rām)[|*] gavāṁ śata-ṣahasrasya[6]

43 hantu[r=*]harati vu(du)shkṛitaḥ(tam) [||1*] Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi[6] svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*]

44 āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha[6] tāny=ēva narakō(kē) vasē[t ||2*] Savvatsarō[7] daś-amē

45 gri(grī)hmā(shmē) pakshē prathamē divasē prathavē(mē) Sēnāpatau

46 Vishṇudattē likhitaṁ Śarvvadattēn=ēti [| | |]·

---

1 The sentence beginning with *āpurvva-dattyā* should have come in line 30 immediately after *vaijayikē-dharmma-sthānē.*

2. There is an unnecessary *visarga* mark here.

3 Read - *ādara-*

4 Read -*sañchintana-*

5 Read *para-dattāṁ vā.*

6 There is an unnecessarv punctuation mark here.

7 Read *saṁvatsarē.*

Seal

1 Narēndrasēna-sat=sūnōḥ

2 bhartur=Vākāṭaka-sriyaḥ [|*]

3 Pri(Pṛi)thivi(vī)shēna(ṇa)-nṛipatē[ḥ*]

4 jigi(gī)shōr=jjaya-śāsana[m ||*] [1]

---

1 The metre of the verse is *Anushṭubh*.

NO. 18 – A MAUKHARI SEAL-DIE FROM KANAUJ

(1 Plate)

Kiran Kumar Thaplyal, Lucknow

The seal-die under discussion was discovered by Shri Vidya Shankar Misra *alias* Sardar, an amateur archaeologist and antique collector, during his explorations in the ruins of ancient Kanauj. Shri Misra has presented it to the Purātattva Saṅgrahālaya (Archaeological Museum), Kanauj, where it is now displayed in a show-case along with other antiquities.[1]

I am grateful to Dr. G.K. Agnihotri, Shri Manoj Awasthi and Shri Prabhakara Pandey, all connected with the Purātattva Saṅgrahālaya in different capacities, who very kindly made the seal-die available for my study at its present location. They were good enough to furnish me information regarding its provenance and also readily supplied the photographs of the seal-die and its impression on the plasticine for use as illustrations.

The seal-die under discussion is fragmentary. A portion of its upper right and the while of the lower portion have been lost. The maximum measurements of the extant fragment length-wise and width-wise are 11 cms and 6 cms respectively. However, from the contours of the extant piece of the seal-die one can reconstruct fairly accurately the original shape and size of the seal-die. It would appear that the original seal, like other seals of Avantivarman, was oval in shape and measured 15 cms and 13 cms length-wise and width-wise respectively.

In the upper field of the seal[2] is depicted a robust human figure standing, facing left. In the front is the figure of a bull of which only the hind part is extant. The fore part of the figure and other items of the device are missing. It is nevertheless possible to reconstruct the device with the help of other seals of the Maukhari rulers, viz., the Nalanda clay seal-impression[3] and the Asirgadh copper seal-impression of Śarvavarman,[4] and the Nalanda[5] and Sohnag[6] clay-seal impressions of Avantivarman.[7] Each of these bears the same device of which the details are as below:

In the centre is a bull figure standing sideways, facing left, and high above it is pictured a *chhatra* (parasol). On each side is a human figure in walking posture. The

---

1 Accession No. KNJ/79-92.

2 The description is of device as it is on the seal-impression, and not as it is on the seal die.

3 Hiranand, Sastri, Above, Vol. XXI, 73-74, pl. facing p. 74.

4 Fleet, *CII.*, III, No. 47, pp. 219 ff., p. XXXA.

5 A. Ghosh, Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 283-85, pl. facing p. 284.

6 M.S. Vats, in *Proc. of Ind. Hist. Congress,* 1946, pp. 74-77.

7 For a general survey of the Maukhari seals, see K.K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals,* pp. 77-79

one nearer the bull holds a battle-axe and a *chakra*-like standard, and the other near the hind parts of the animal holds a battle-axe and a *chauri.* Since the extant device of the seal under discussion is identical in respect of the human figure and the bull (hind part only), it may be presumed that the other details of the device in the original seal-die were also identical with those of other Maukhari seals.

Scholars have assigned religious symbolism to the device. Dr. H. Sastri, while editing the Nalanda sealing of Śarvavarman, interpreted the figure of the bull as standing for *Dharma (vṛishō hi bhagavān Dharmaḥ)* and the two human figures as *chaṇḍālas* standing in readiness to kill the bull *(Dharma).*[1] According to the same author, the device carried the allegorical implication that tampering with the seal was as sinful an act as the killing of a bull or violation of *Dharma.*[2] But as Vats pointed out, this interpretation, though ingenious, is not convincing.[3] He has his own interpretation to offer. According to him, the bull represents S'Śiva'sull, Nandi, the two human figures, Śiva-gaṇas, and what looks like a *chakra* standard could well be taken as a conventional representation of a *patākā* or *dhvaja.*[4] However, to our view, the picturing of *chhatra* (one of the paraphernalias that goes well with royalty and divinity) above the bull would suggest that either the bull-figure is a theriomorphic representation of Śiva. or the *chhatra* itself is a symbolic representation of that deity. Depiction of Śaiva device is obviously quite appropriate as the Maukhari rulers prided to call themselves as *Paramamāhēśvaras* (i.e., most devout worshippers of Śiva).

The writing is in **Brāhmī** characters of the 6th century A.D. The **palaeography** of the letters shows markedly florid characters, as in other Maukhari seals, and has been commented upon by Fleet.[1] The **language** of the epigraph is **Sanskrit** and the text is in prose. As regards **orthographic** peculiarities worthy of note, we find duplication of the letter *ṇ* (as in *varṇṇāśrama,* line 2) when immediately following the letter *r.*

The name of its owner, which by common practice should have been mentioned at the end, has been lost in this fragmentary seal-die. No doubt, as stated earlier, the shape and size of the orginal seal can be ascertained more or less accurately; but that in itself would not give us a definite idea regarding the length of the text. A consideration of contemporary and near contemporary royal seals would show that while on some the legend goes right upto the bottom of the seal,[6] in the case of a few others, a fairly large space, sufficient to accommodate a few lines of writing, is left blank towards the end.[7] If the name of the owner of the seal under discussion were known,

---

1 Above, Vol. XXI, p. 73.

2 Sastri in *ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

3 M.S. Vats, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *CII.*, Vol. III, pp. 219-20.

6 Eg., in the Maukhari seals.

7 See e.g., *MASI*, No. 66, pl. VIII.

and if he were one of the already known Maukhari kings, then the lost portion could be fully reconstructed with the help of other seals of that dynasty, as all of them detail genealogy in a set phraseology. But since we do not know the name of the issuer of the present seal, we have to take recourse to other methods for a reconstruction of the legend.

Taking clue from the text of other Maukhari seals, the following two observations regarding reconstruction can be made with certainty :

1 At the end of line 3, Queen Harshaguptā is mentioned. Naturally her son, king Īśvaravarman, must have been mentioned in the missing portion of line 4.

2 The word *bhattārikā* occurs at the end of line 4. This must certainly have been preceded by the name of the Queen Upaguptā and line 5 (now missing) would thus have contained the name of her son Īśānavarman.

The Maukhari genealogy upto Īśānavarman can easily be constructed with the help of known Maukhari seals. But since ample blank space would still be left on the seal-die below line 5 (missing in the fragmentary seal-die under discussion), it would be any-body's guess as to how many lines of writing, or none at all, followed thereafter. However, presuming that the legend went right upto the bottom of the seal, then, taking into consideration the blank space and the size of letters, it can be computed that the lost portion of the seal-die contained four lines of writing. Four lines within that space would have just been sufficient to include the text of Avantivarman's seal, that follows *[Upaguptā]-bhattārikā*, which occurs at the end of line 4 of our seal-die (see below, the reconstructed text lines 5-8). If we consider the possibility of taking Su........, who was a son of Avantivarman and whose (now) fragmentary seal impression has been found at Nalanda,[1] as the author of the seal, it would mean the inclusion of the following text:

Puttras=tat=pādānudhyātō - (name of queen)
bhaṭṭārikā mahādēvyām=utpannaḥ paramamāhēśvarō mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Su- (full name of the king[2]), after the name of Avantivarman. But the space is insufficient to include this text.

One may, however, argue that the seal under discussion is one of those in which the legend does not go right upto the end of the lower portion and considerable blank

1 Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 283-85 and plate. The full name of the king is not known as the letters after *Su-* are either defaced or missing.

2 Perhaps this was followed by the word *Maukhariḥ* (in which case this word would not have been mentioned in the context of Avantivarman, as in Maukhari seals it is applied to the owner of the seal only).

space is left at the bottom. Hence, one possibility could be that Isanavarman (whose name must have occurred in line 5, as stated above) could be the owner of the seal. We, however, are of the view that the present seal-die belonged to Avantivarman. The view is based on the following grounds :

1 In none of the known Maukhari seals is the lower portion of the surface left blank.

2 As stated earlier, the space would be just sufficient to fill in the text of Avantivarman's seal.

3 A comparison of the extant text of the seal under consideration, line by line, with the Nalanda and Asirgadh seals of Śarvavarman, shows that the seal when intact contained a few more letters in each line than those two seals. To give just one instance, the first line of these two seals end in *vyavasthā* while that of the one under discussion in *vyavasthāpana pravritta.* On the other hand, a comparison of the text of the seal with that of Nalanda and Sohnag ones of Avantivarman indicates that the first four lines of our seal must have tallied with theirs, line by line. We have on the seal-die only the end portion of the first four lines for comparison. It is clearly seen that the first, second, third and fourth lines of the present seal-die as also of the Nalanda and Sohnag seal-impressions of Avantivarman end in *pravritta, Harivarmmā, Harshaguptā* and *bhaṭṭārikā* respectively. We may justifiably presume that the text of these as also the rest of the lines (which are missing in the seal-die) were also identical with those of the seals of Avantivarman. Thus, in view of the above arguments, we can safely conclude that the present seal belongs to Avantivarman.

The find of material relics pertaining to a particular dynasty at a site is often taken as evidence of its being within the kingdom of that dynasty. However, the type of objects, the context of the find, and corroboration or contradiction by other sources, should also be taken into consideration before arriving at such a conclusion. Sealings, for instance, applied as they are to letters and parcels, are liable to be dispatched to agencies located far away from the place of their origin. Hence, in determining the extent of the territory of a king, or of his dynasty, the evidence of such objects should be taken with extreme caution.[1]

---

1 It is because of this that the find of Maukhari sealings at Nalanda, a great centre of religion and learning, could not in itself be taken as a definite proof of that region being within the Maukhari kingdom. It is on the basis of the Deo Barnark inscription of the later Gupta king, Jīvitagupta II (*CII.*, Vol. III, No. 46, p. 213), which refers to the grant of the village Vāruṇikā (modern Deo Barnark, Shahabad District, Bihar) by Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, that historians included Nalanda within the Maukhari Kingdom.

A MAUKHARI SEAL-DIE FROM KANAUJ

A



B



As against this, seal-dies should be, and are, generally found at places of their origin. The present royal seal-die must have been in the custody of the king's office at the Maukhari capital for purposes of sealing royal documents. It is, therefore, reasonable to infer that Kanauj, the findspot of the seal-die, was the capital of the Maukhari kingdom. Though most scholars have also arrived at the same conclusion on the basis of other bits of evidence, dissenting notes and alternate suggestions have been made by a few from time to time. This seal-die which is the first definite archaeological document pertaining to the Maukhari dynasty from Kanauj, and also the first and only seal-die of that dynasty found anywhere so far, would go to establish that Kanauj was the capital of the Maukharis, during the reign of Avantivarman Maukhari, the owner of the present seal-die, if not earlier.

We give below the text of the seal in two parts : (A) partly extant and partly restored, and (B) wholly missing and completely restored.[1]

TEXT[2]

A

1 [Chatussamudr-ātikkrānta-kīrttiḥ pratāp-ānurāg-ōpanat-ānyarā*]*jō varṇṇāśrama-vyavasthāpana-pravṛitta-*

2 [Chakkraś=chakkradhara iva.Prajānām=arttiharaḥ śrī-mahārāja-Ha*]*rivarmmā tasya puttras=tat=pād-ānudhyātō Jaya-*

3 [svāminī-bhaṭṭārikādēvyām=utpannaḥ śrī-mahārāj-Ādityavarmmā tasya puttras=ta*] *t=pādānudhyātō Harshagupta-*

4 [bhaṭṭārikā dēvyām=utpannaḥ śrī mahārāja=Ēśvaravarmmā tasya puttras=tat=pād-ānudhyāta Upaguptā*] *-bhaṭṭārikā-*

B

5 [dēvyām=utpannō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Īśānavarmmā tasya puttras=tat=pādānudh-yātō

6 Lakshmīvatī-bhaṭṭārikā-mahādēvyām=utpannō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Śarvavarmmā

7 tasya puttras=tat=pādānudhyāta Indra-bhaṭṭārikā-mahādēvyām=utpannaḥ parama-māhēśvarō

8 Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Avantivarmmā Maukhariḥ*]

1 [The available part of the text is given in italics and the missing portions within [*] - Ed.]

2 From photographs.

NO. 19 – A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM VIDISHA

(*1 Plate*)

K. V. Ramesh and S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

This recently discovered inscription, edited here for the first time is engraved on a stone slab originally found at Besnagar near Vidisha, the well known head-quarters of the District of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. The slab is now preserved in the office of the Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh. The inscription was copied by Dr. Subramonia Iyer in March, 1979 in the course of his annual collection tour.

The slab is broken off along the top, left and right margins as a result of which none of the five lines of writing is available in full. The writing, which is near ornamental, is carefully executed, though a damage in the middle of the available part of the slab has resulted in the loss of some more letters in lines 1 to 3.

The **object** of the inscription appears to record the construction of a temple *(kīrttana)* for Lord Śiva by a chief belonging to a Pratīhāra family who was, in all probability, a vassal of a Nāga ruler who was endowed with the royal title of *Mahārāja*. The names of the overlord and his vassal are both lost.

The inscription is engraved in what may be described as the **Western variety** of **Late Brāhmī**, also known as the **Gupta alphabet**, which was in vogue in the western and southern parts of the Gupta empire. On grounds of **palaeography**, this epigraph may be assigned to the 5th century A.D. and the letters may be compared with any standard Gupta alphabet of that period.

The **language** employed is **Sanskrit** and, but for a verse in the *Āryā* metre in line five, the text is in prose. The language is faultless. The symbol for *upadhmānīya* and the numerical figure for five occur once each, both in line 2. As regards **orthography**, the consonant following *r* is uniformly doubled. The doubling of the consonant *n* in °*nānnyachalā*° (line 3) and the writing of *yajña-ghna* as *yajña-gghna* are noteworthy.

The first line, which is badly mutilated, refers to a certain **Vijayanāga** and to his son and grandson, whose names are lost, but who are endowed with the royal title of *Mahārāja*. Though, of the letters which precede the name of Vijayanāga, only the letter *śrī* is now preserved, it may be reasonably supposed that he too was given the title of *Mahārāja* in the portion now irretrievably lost. Since we have no means of knowing the number of letters lost on the left and right sides of the slab, we do not know whether the epigraph contained an account of the generations which followed the grandson of Vijayanāga.

Line 2 mentions, in both word and figure, the fifth year of the prosperous reign, obviously of one of the descendants of Vijayanāga. Then the details of the object of the inscription are set down with the preamble *asyāḥ=pūrvvāyās=sannivēśaḥ*.

The remaining portion of line 2 mentions a certain **Bhūtimitra** who is described as a **Pratīhāra**, his son Pratīhāra . . . . (name lost), his son Pratīhāra Drōṇa and his son whose name is lost. Since the intention of the record is to refer only to the

prapautra or great-grandson of Bhūtimitra, we may conclude that Drōṇa's son, whose name is, however, not preserved, was the last of the Pratīhāra chiefs intended to figure in the epigraph.

In the first half of line three occurs the description of the religious leanings of an individual. Since each of the descriptive phrases in this part ends in the instrumental case and since Drōṇa's son is also referred to in the same case (cf. *putrēṇa* in line 2), we may safely conclude that the descriptive phrases are applicable only to the son of Drōṇa. These phrases inform us that he had come to realise that the abodes of the gods (*kīrttanāni*, i.e. temples) were of a permanent nature, that he had sought refuge only in religious faith, and that he was an ardent devotee at the feet of Mahēśvara, i.e. Śiva.

These descriptive phrases are followed by others introducing Lord Śiva as the most valorous in all the world, as one endowed with the form of *liṅga* not comprehended even by Brahmā and Hari, as one whose feet were worshipped by some one (details lost) and as one who was a resident of Kailāsa.

Next follows the description, most probably, of the temple of Lord Śiva, built, out of great devotion, by the son of Drōṇa. It was as pure and brilliant as the snow-capped peak; it was the subject of worship for all people, and it had been built in order to secure blessings for the living beings.

The last line says that the foregoing text was thus written and proclaimed. Then follows a verse in the *Āryā* metre in which the builder of the temple appeals to Lord Śiva, who is endowed with the Bull standard, who is the destroyer of (Daksha's) sacrifice, who is the best among the gods and is known as Śarvva, to bless him with unflinching adherence to acts of piety (or, to the path of righteousness). This is followed by a floral symbol and the concluding remark *siddhir=astu*, followed, probably, by another floral symbol.

The inscription is of considerable importance for the history of the Vidisha region during the 4th-5th century A.D., when the entire north was dominated by the imperial might of the Guptas. Though, in view of the damaged nature of the record, we have no means of deciding whether the Guptas were at all mentioned at the commencement of the text, the fact that the Nāga rulers were endowed only with the subordinate title of *Mahārāja* proves beyond doubt that they were, in effect, the vassals of the Guptas. It is obvious that the rulers of this particular Nāga family were in charge of the administration of the Besnagar region during the sway of the Guptas.

It is interesting to note that the Mitra feudatories of these Nāgai rulers claimed to be of Pratīhāra stock. The earliest so far known reference[1] to rulers of a Pratīhāra stock goes back to the middle of the 6th century A.D. when Harichandra, the brāhmaṇa founder of the Gurjara kingdom, was succeeded by his four sons who were Pratīhāras. The inscription under study is the only source of information on the Nāga and Pratīhāra families of the Besnagar region and more light can be thrown on their history only if and when further epigraphs are brought to light.

---

1 *The Classical Age*, p. 65.

TEXT[1]

1 . . . . śrī-Vijayanāgas=tat-putrasya Mahārāja-śrī- . [ja] . . . s=tat-putrasya Ma . . . . [trasya] . . . .

2 . . . . ddhikara-saṁvatsarē pañchamē 5 asyāḥ=pūrvvāyās=saṁnivēśaḥ[|*] Pratīhāra-Bhūtimitra-prapautrēṇa Pratīhā . . . . . .[pau]trēṇa. Pratīhāra-Drōṇas=tat-putrēṇa . . . .

3 . . . . Kīrttanānny-achalānī=tikṛita-buddhinā dharmmaika-śaraṇēna atyanta-Mahēśvara-pāda-bha[ktēna] . . . .lōkaika-vīrasya Brahmā-Haribhyāṁ=apy=anadhigata-liṅga . . . .

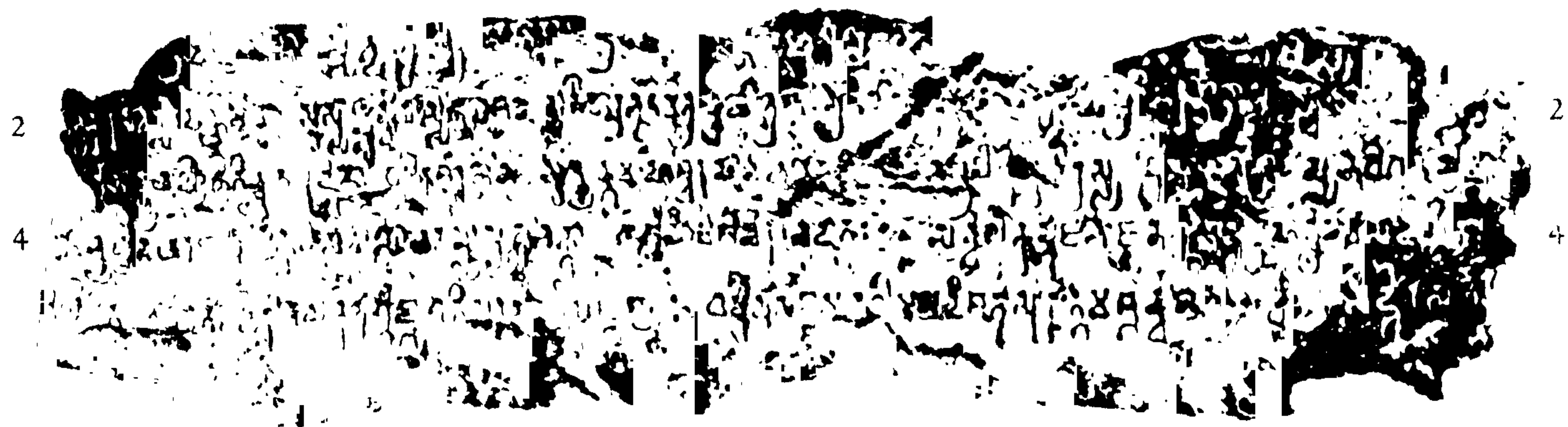
4 . . . . m-ābhyarchchita-charaṇasya Kailāsa- vās-ōchitasy=āpya(py=ā)tma-bhaktyā śaśi-hima-śikhar-āvadātaḥ sarvva-lōka-pūjā-bhājana[ḥ*] bhūt-ānugrah-ārttham=avasādayita[ḥ] . . . .

5 . . . . [ti] likhitaṁ śāsitaṁ [|*] Saurabhēya-kētur-Ggaṅgā-dhṛita-tripura-Daksha-yajña- gghnaḥ | Dharmmēshu saṅgam-achalam=mama diśatu surōttamaś=Śarvva[ḥ*||] iti||[2] siddhir=astu [||*][2]

1 From inked estampages.

2 There is a floral symbol here.

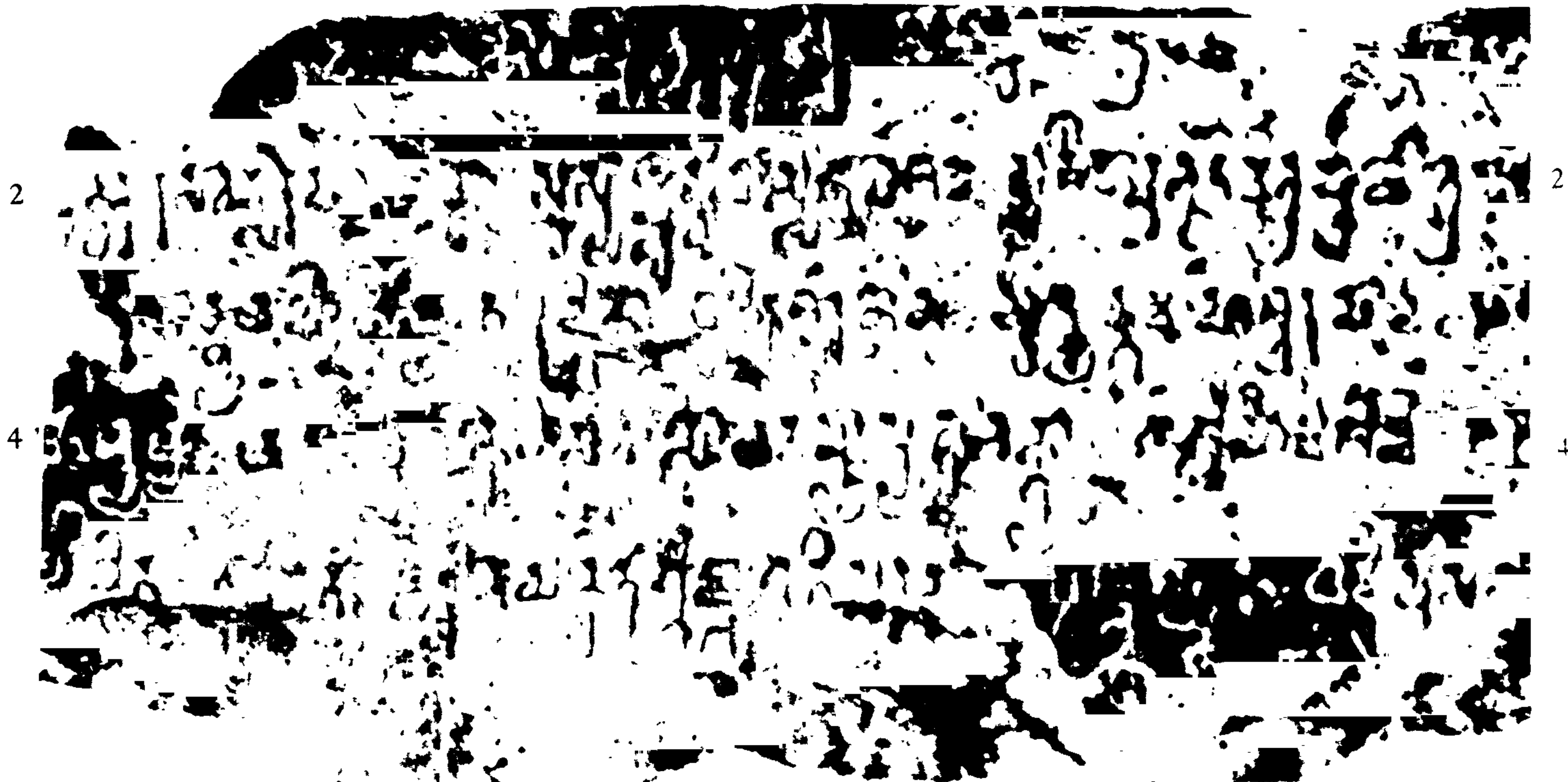
A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM VIDISHA



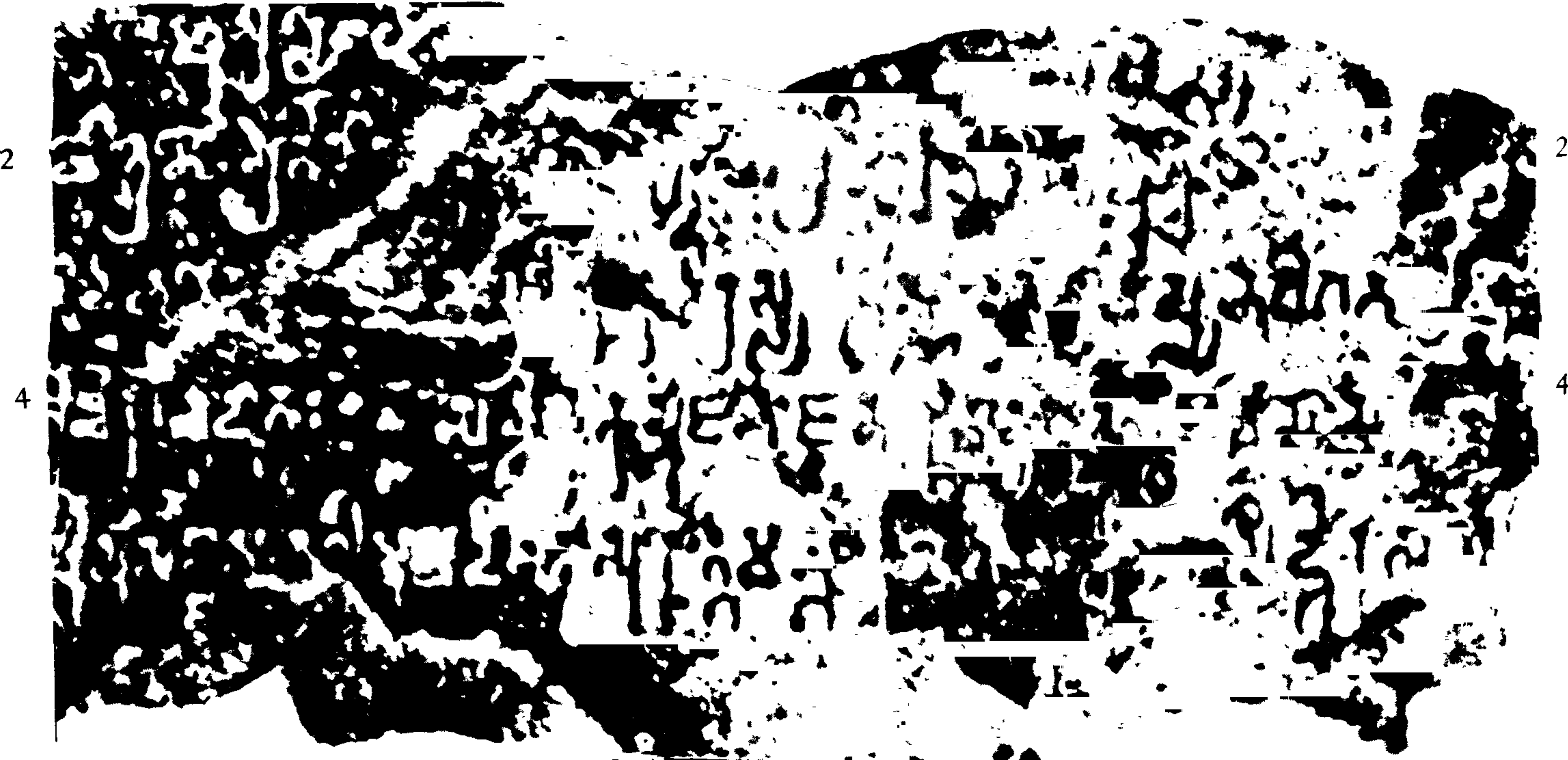
K V Ramesh

SCALE: ONE-THIRD

LEFT HALF



RIGHT HALF



SCALE : TWO-THIRDS

NO. 20 – KANNADA SĀHITYA PARISHAT PLATES OF WESTERN GAṄGA SIṀHAVARMAN

(1 Plate)

K. V. Ramesh, Mysore

This set of copper plate inscription, edited here for the first time, was copied in 1978[1] by the then Chief Epigraphist, Shri K.G. Krishnan with the kind permission of the authorities of the Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishat, Bangalore where the set is at present deposited. The set consists of three rectangular plates, each measuring 20.5 x 5.5 cms. In the left centre of each plate, about 2 cms away from the edge is a round hole, about 1 cm in diameter, for the ring of the seal to pass through. No information is available regarding the weight of the plates nor about the seal and ring.

Of the three plates of the set, the first bears writing only on the inner side while both the sides of the second and third plates are engraved. There are altogether 20 lines of writing distributed as follows: I, II a and b: 4 lines each; III a: 5 lines and III b: 3 lines.

The charter is engraved in **Southern characters** which may be assigned, on grounds of palaeography, to the second half of the fifth century A.D. The **language** employed is **Sanskrit** and, but for four imprecatory verses at the end, the rest of the text is in prose. The **palaeographical** features as well as the diction are normal for the period and region to which the record belongs. Though the text is mostly free from **orthographical errors**, attention may be drawn to the fact that even in the matter of mentioning the grandfather of the reigning king, his name has been wrongly spelt as Mahādhava instead of Mādhava.

The **object** of the charter is to register the royal grant of two *nivarttanas* of land in a field called Kūttūra-kshētra in the township of Kuvalāla in Kuvalāla-vishaya, made by the **Gaṅga** king *Mahādhirāja* **Siṁhavarman** to the brāhmaṇa Mātṛi-śarman.

The charter begins with the auspicious word *svasti* which is followed by the salutation to the god Padmanābha, a feature common to most of the Western Gaṅga copper plates. The progenitor of the Gaṅga dynasty, who is herein named as Koṅkaṇivarma-mahādhirāja, is next introduced[2] (lines 1-3) as one who illuminated the Gaṅga family, as having acquired exalted position by dint of the prowess of his own arms and as having obtained great fame through his victories in many battles. Next is mentioned (lines 3-4) his son, Mādhava-mahārāja who was an adept in expounding and applying the rules of polity and who had written a commentary on *Dattaka-sūtra*.[3] Next is mentioned his son Kṛishṇavarma-mahādhirāja who was a skilled rider of vicious elephants and was well-versed in the application of twenty six expedients.

1 The charter has been noticed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1978-79

2 The description of Koṅkaṇivarman as the sun in the firmament of the Gaṅga family (*Jāhnavēya-kul-āmala-vyōm-āvabhāsana-bhāskaraḥ*) and as belonging to the Kāṇvāyana-sagōtra, usually met with in Western Gaṅga charters, is conspicuous by its absence here.

3 The title of his work, as known from some other Western Ganga charters, is *Dattaka sūtra-vṛitti.*

The charter then proceeds to describe (lines 6-12) the reigning king *Mahādhirāja* Siṁhavarman as one whose strong arms supported rightousness, who was sweet, lovely, cool, weighty, forbearing, grave and glowing respectively like milk, the moon, sandal, the Mandara mountain, the earth, the ocean and the sun, who had the greatness (born out) of dexterity, rectitude, purity, valour, liberality, prowess and fortitude, who was of unequalled bravery and fame, who was an expert in the rules and regulations of polity, whose depth of intelligence was more even than that of Śukra and Bṛihaspati, whose self had been rendered pure by his mastery over many sciences, who had amassed merit through making plentious gifts of cows, gold and land and who had inherited his kingdom in the proper order of succession.

The grant portion in lines 12-15 records, as pointed out above, the grant, made by the king Siṁhavarman, of two *nivarttanas* of land to the brāhmaṇa Mātṛi-śarman. The two *nivarttanas* of the gift-land were made up of four *kēdāra-kshētras* (i.e. wet fields) known by the names of Maḍavāy, Dīrggha, Chakra and Stala. The land was situated in Kūttūra-kshētra which was under the tank of the town of Kuvalāla in Kuvalāla-vishaya. The gift was made, for the increase of the donor-king's longevity, strength, victory and prosperity, in accordance with the rules governing *brahmadēya* grants, along with all (usual) exemptions. The donee, Mātṛi-śarman belonged to the Kāśyapa-gōtra and Vājasanēya-śākhā.

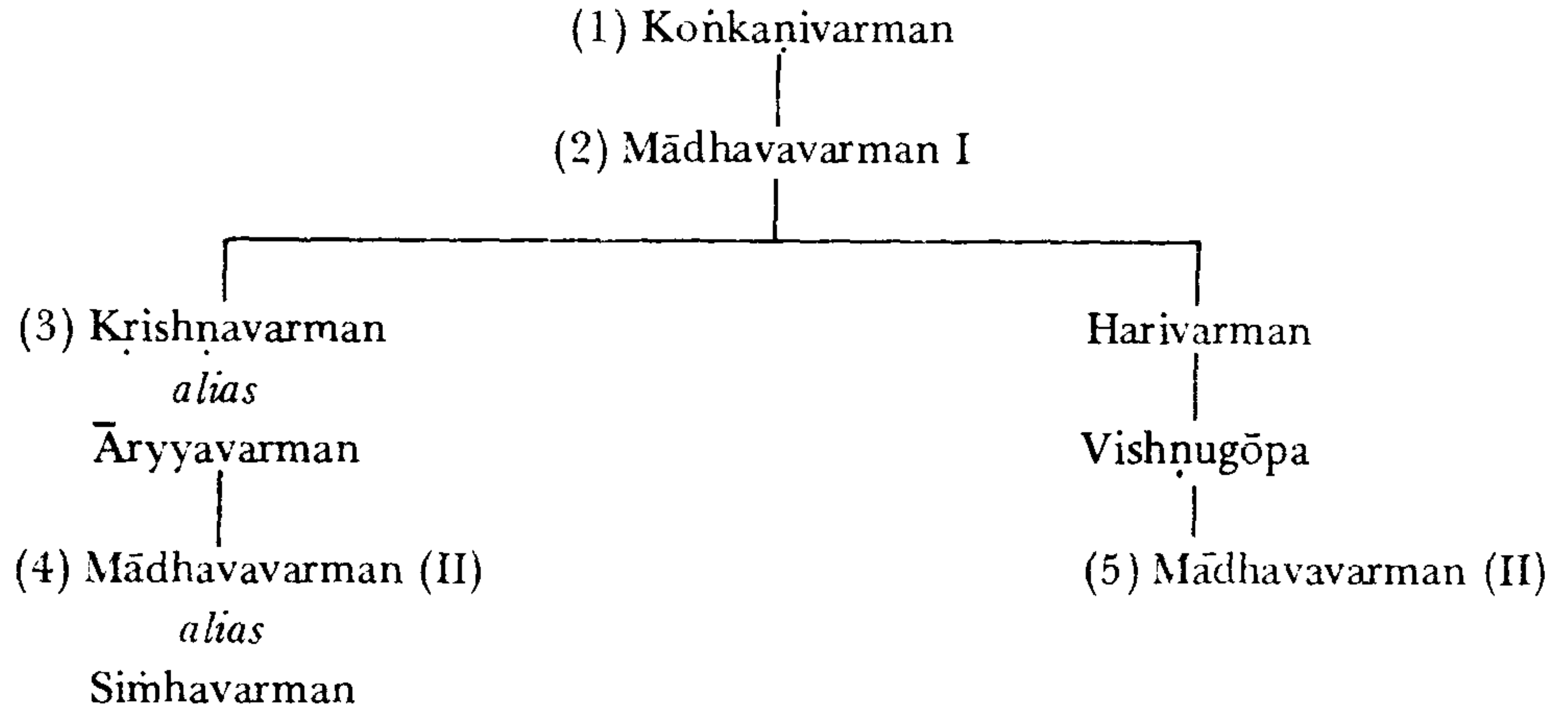
The donor king Siṁhavarman is already known to us from his Chūkuṭṭūru[1] and Kūṭalūr[2] grants and his Penukoṇḍa plates.[3] The present charter is the fourth so far known grant of his reign. While the genealogy as given in the Chūkuṭṭūru grant has the same names for the four rulers enumerated therein as in the present charter, the Kūṭalūr grant and the Penukoṇḍa plates give the name of Siṁhavarman's father as Āryyavarman instead of Kṛishṇavarman. Again, the Kūṭalūr grant names Āryyavarman's son as Mādhavavarman. But, we know from the Penukoṇḍa plates that one and the same son of Āryyavarman had both the names of Mādhavavarman and Siṁhavarman. On the strength of this equation, we also know that Kṛishṇavarman of the Chūkuṭṭūru grnaṭ and the charter under study and Āryyavarman of the Penukoṇḍa plates and Kūṭalūr grant were identical.

Siṁhavarman *alias* Mādhvavarman II appears to have been the last ruler of the main line started by Koṁkaṇivarman and he probably died without an issue. For, for the period immediately following Mādhavavarman II's reign, we find seated on the Gaṅga throne another Mādhvavarman, a third ruler of that name, who is described as the son of Vishṇugōpa, grandson of Harivarman and great-grandson of Mādhavavarman(I). It is clear from this that Mādhavavarman (I) had at least two sons in Kṛishṇavarman *alias* Āryyavarman and Harivarman. The genealogy of the first five generations of Western Gaṅga princes may be tabulated as follows:

1 *Mys.Arch.Rep.*. 1924, pp. 79-81 and plates between pp. 80 and 81.

2 *Ibid.*, 1930, pp. 259-65 and plate opp. p. 259.

3 Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 331-40 and plate between pp. 334-35.



Of the four known charters of the ruler under discussion, including the present one, only the Chūkuṭṭūru and Kūṭalūr grants carry some details of date. The details given in the former grant are Mārgaśira ba. 8, Chitrā-nakshatra; the Kūṭalūr grant was issued on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra when the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇī and the season Śarat (Autumn). In either case the details are insufficient for verification. The other two grants including the charter under review are not dated in any way.

A point worth noticing here is the fact that though the Western Gaṅga *praśasti*, as given in their early charters, including those of Siṁhavarman, clearly betray attempts at formalisation which later led to the adoption of a stereotyped eulogy, in the matter of eulogising Siṁhavarman himself, there is no such formalised version. His *praśastis*, as found given in his four known charters, are all composed differently. The only substantial information of a historical nature we gather from his *praśastis* is that he was anointed on the Gaṅga throne by the Pallava emperor Skandavarman (as mentioned in the Penukoṇḍa plates) or Vijaya Skandavarman (as mentioned in the Kūṭalūr grant), an important information which is conspicuous by its omission in the charter under study.

Another point of interest worth noticing here is the way in which the description of the acquisition of kingship by Mādhavavarman (II) *alias* Siṁhavarman contrasts with that of Mādhavavarman (III). The Penukoṇḍa plates describe Mādhavavarman (II) as ruling over the kingdom inherited by him in the normal course of succession *(sva-vaṁśa-kram-āgata-rājya)* while the Kūṭalūr grant says that he was justifiably anointed on the throne by the Pallava emperor *(nyāyatō=bhishiktaḥ)*. The charter under study also states that he had come by the Gaṅga throne in the normal course of succession *(kram-ādhigata-rājyaḥ)*. In contrast to this, the Western Gaṅga *praśasti*, of which a formalised version begins to appear on most of the charters of the dynasty subsequent to the reign of Siṁhavarman almost invariably says of Mādhavavarman (III) that he established mastery over the kingdom which he had obtained by dint of the

strength of his arms *(svabhuja-bala-parākrama-kraya-krita-rajyaḥ).*[1] From this it may be gathered that though Mādhavavarman (II) may have died issueless, the throne did not automatically pass on to Mādhavavarman (III), a member of the collateral line and that he had to fight for it.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, Kuvalāla is the same as the modern township of Kolar. Since it is described as an *adhishṭhāna,* it must have enjoyed considerable importance at that time, perhaps as a capital city of the Western Gaṅgas. Kuvalāla-vishaya was obvously the name of a district which had Kuvalāla for its headquarters. Kūttūra-kshētra, in which the wet-fields granted to the donee were situated, must have formed part of the agricultural lands in or around the town of Kuvalāla.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 Svasti [|*] Jitam=Bhagavatā gata-ghana-gagan-ābhēna Padmanābhēna [|*] Gaṁga-vaṁś-ōdyō(ddyō)ta-

2 karasya sva-bāhu-vīryy-ōpārjjita-vibhavasya ānēka-samar-āvamardda-vijaya-labdha-

3 yaśaḥ-prakāśasya śrī-Koṅkaṇivarmma-[ma]hādhi-rājasya prapō(pau)trēṇa śakti-traya-sampannasya nī-

4 ti-śāstrasya vaktṛi-prayōktṛi[3] [kuśalasya*] Dattaka-sūtr-ārttha-vyākhyāyinaḥ śrī-Mahādhava[4] -mahārājasya

Second Plate : First Side

5 pautrēṇa vyāḷa-kuñjar-ārōhaṇa-kuśalasya shaḍviṁsaty-upāya-prayōga-kuśala-bud-dhēḥ Kṛishṇa-

6 varmma-mahādhirājasya putrēṇa sad-dharmm-ōddharaṇa-pralamba-pīvara-vṛirtta (tta)-bāhu-yugaḷēna

7 payaś=chandra-chandana-Mandara-pṛithivī-sāgara-bhāskara-tulya-mādhuryya-kānti-tva-śaitya-gaurava-

---

1 See, *Ep. carn.*, Vol. X, Mr. 73 and plate opp. p. 208.

2 From inked estampages.

3 There is the trace of a diminutive letter to the right of the letter *kṭri.* which looks like final *m.*

4 Read *Mādhava.*

KANNAḌA SĀHITYA PARSHAT PLATES OF W. GAṄGA SIṂHAVARMAN

i

iia

iib

iiia

14 14

16 16

iiib

18 18

20 20

SCALE : ONE-HALF

8 kshānti-dhairyya-pratāpēna dākshiṇy-ārjjava-śaucha-śauryya-tyāga-vikram-ōtsāha-

Second Plate : Second Side

9 māhātmyēna apratima-parākrama-yaśasā nīti-vī(vi)dhi-niyata-naipuṇyēna Sukra-Bṛihaspati-

10 bhyām=apy=āśāsyamāna-mati-vistārēṇa anēka-śāstr-ōdadhi-pāraga-mana-vipūl-atmanā anē-

11 ka-gō-hiraṇya-bhūmy-ādi dānaiḥ pravṛiddha-dharmma-sañchayēna kram-ādhigata-rājyē-

12 na Gaṅgānām-mahādhirājēna śrī-Si[ṁ*]havarmmaṇā Kuvalāla-vishayē Ku[1]pa(va)lāl-ādhishṭhānē taṭākasy-ādhastāt

Third Plate : First Side

13 Kāśyapāyā Vājasanēyinē Mātṛi-śarmmaṇē asmad-āyur-bbala-vijay-aiśvaryy-ābhivṛi-ddhayē

14 Kūttūra-kshētrē Maḍavāy-kkētā(dā)raś=cha Dīrggha-kēdāraś=cha Chakra-kēdāraś=cha Stala-kēdāraś=cha tach=chatush-kē-

15 dārān=nivartta[na*]-dvayam brahmadēya-kramēṇa sarvvaiḥ parihāraiḥ samprattam [|*] yō=sy=āpaharttā sa pāpa[2]

16 pañcha-mā(ma)hāpātaka-saṁyuktō bhavati [|*] api ch=āsminn-adhikārē Manuḥ (nu)-gītāḥ ślōkā[ḥ*] bhavanti[|*] Bahubhi-

17 r=vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālitā [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [|| 1*]

Third Plate : Second Side

18 Adbhir=ddattān=tribhir=bhukta[ṁ] sadbhiś=cha paripālitam [|*] ētāni na nivarttantē pūrvva-rāja-kṛitāni cha [|| 2*]

---

1 The words *Kuvalāla-vishayē*, originally omitted, were engraved subsequently below the line, and a *kākapāda* was engraved on top of this letter *ku* to mark the omission.

2 These two letters are redundant.

19 Sva-dattām-para-dattām-vā yō harētō (ta) vasundharām [|*] gavāṁ śata-sā(sa)-ha(ha)srasya hantuḥ pibati [ta(du)]shkri[tam] [|| 3]

20 Bhūmi-dānāt-paran-dānan=na bhūtan=na bhavishyati [|*] tasy=aiva haraṇāt=pāpan=na bhūtan=na bhavishyati[1] [|| 4*]

1 The metre of all these four verses is *anushṭubh*.

NO. 21 – MŌḌĀSĀ INSCRIPTION OF ARJUNADĒVA, V.S. 1320

(*1 Plate*)

K.M. Bhadri, Mysore

The inscription[1] edited below, with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore was copied by me at the College Museum, Mōḍāsā, Modasa Taluk, Sabarkantha District, Gujarat, during my collection tour in October 1978. As informed by the College Museum authorities, the slate stone fragment bearing the inscription was found on the banks of the river Māzūm at Mōḍāsā. It is the left piece of the lower portion of a big slab. Though it is difficult to have an idea of the total lines originally inscribed, an idea of the original length of each line can be had with the help of the metres used in the text of the inscription. The present fragment consists of 14 lines of well preserved writing. Only a few letters of the first and the last two lines remain. This fragment, obviously forms part of a big *praśasti.* Verse numbers 17 (line 2), 1[8] (line 3), 22 (line 5), 23 (line 6), 27 (line 9), 29 (line 10), 32 (line 12) and 34 (line 13) are seen in different lines of the epigraph.

The record is written in beautiful **Nāgarī characters** assignable to the middle of the 13th century and its **palaeographical** features are regular for the period and region to which the inscription belongs. The characters of the record compare favourably with the Veraval inscription[2] of the Chaulukya-Vāghēlā ruler Arjuna written in 1264 A.D. Medial *ē* and *ō* are indicated by a *pṛishṭhamātrā* except in Sōḍhalē (line 7), where a *śirōmātrā* is used to indicate it. There is practically no difference between the forms of the conjunct letter *vva* and the aspirate letter *tha* as may be seen from line 3. The *avagraha* mark is used once in line 5.

The **language** of the record is **Sanskrit** and the composition is in verse throughout the extant portion of the slab. As noted above the verses are numbered.

As regards **orthography** the following points may be noted : The letter *b* has been indicated by the letter *v.* There is no uniformity in the matter of doubling the consonant occurring immediately after the *rēpha. Anusvāra* has been used in place of class nasals throughout.

The record is dated in the **year** 1320 (line 10, verse 29). Though the earlier portion of this verse which may have specified the name of the era is lost there is overwhelming reason to state that the year 1320 was of the Vikrama era. The other details of the date available in the extant portion are the month **Māgha** and its **bright fortnight.** These details are insufficient for verification. In the absence of *tithi* and weekday the English equivalent of the date cannot be ascertained.

Though the record is extremely fragmentary, all direct references to the reigning king being lost, the extant portion does contain some clues which help us to identify

1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1978-79, No. B 84.

1 Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 141 ff. and plate.

with an amount of certainity the ruler in whose reign the inscription was engraved. As many as four names of individuals, those of Sōḍhala, Arjuna, . risiṁha and Kēlhaṇa, are met with in this record. Among them Sōḍhala and Arjuna figure twice and the other two only once in the available portion. None of these persons is endowed with any conventional royal title. Since Sōḍhala is expressly stated to be supreme in the council of ministers (*sachiva-maṇḍala-sārvabhaumaḥ*, line 7) he must have been only a high official. Kēlhaṇa figures merely as someone's (name lost) younger brother (line 13) and no other details are available to warrant his identification as the then reigning king. Again, though .risiṁha's virtues are recounted (line 8) the available portion of the text concerning him has nothing to show his royal descent. This leaves out only Arjuna and let us see if he could be the king to whose reign our record belongs.

The name of Arjuna occurs twice, once in line 6 and again in line 9. Though no royal titles are associated with his name, in line 6 his name is followed by the letter *nṛi* (continuation lost) and in line 9 by the letter *bhū* (continuation lost). On the strength of the metrical scanning in these two lines the first reference to Arjuna in line 6 could be restored as *nṛipāla* and the second reference as *bhūbhṛit*, both the words meaning 'king'. In view of this Arjuna may be considered as the ruling king in whose reign our inscription was engraved.

As regards the identity of the king Arjuna of the present record and the family to which he belonged there are three factors to be considered viz. the date, the findspot and the characters of the record.

The present record is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1320 (1263 A.D.), which fits well into the reign period of Chaulukya-Vāghēlā Arjunadēva, son of Pratāpamalla and the successor of Vīsaladēva,[1] who ruled between Vikrama year 1318 and 1331.[2] It has been already noted that the present inscription was discovered at Mōḍāsā which is not far off from Idar. And we know that Arjuna's territory extended as far as Idar in the north.[3] The provenance of the present record, which is on the northern borders of the known Chaulukya-Vāghēlā territory lends clear support to the identification of Arjuna of our record with his namesake of that dynasty. Lastly, as already discussed, the characters of the present record closely resemble those of the Vērāval inscription dated 1264 A.D. in the reign of the same king referred to above. Thus it becomes established that the present record is to be referred to the reign of the Chaulukya-Vāghēlā king Arjunadēva, son of Pratāpamalla and nephew and successor of Vīsaladēva.

The object of the inscription as partly gleaned from lines 10-11 is to record the construction of a temple *(prāsāda)*, on a large platform *(jagatī)* made of huge blocks of stone *(pṛithulair=upalaiḥ)*, within a spacious stone enclosure *(viśāla-śaila-prākāra)* and embellished with a gate-way *(pratōlī)*. Since the inscription mentions Mōḍāsā

---

1 *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 180.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 204.

3 *ibid.*, p. 180.

(Muḍāsaṇa) (line 12) it is quite probable that the temple was constructed in the vicinity of this town.

The present inscription is a valuable addition to the few records of Arjuna so far known., being only the fourth in number.[1] Of all the four inscriptions only the present one refers to the construction of a temple thus providing us with an insight into the architectural activity during Arjuna's reign. However, all other details pertaining to the temple including the identity of the deity for whom it was built are lost. Secondly, it introduces for the first time an official of the king viz. Sōḍhala, described as *sachiva-maṁḍala-sārvabhauma.* He is further described as *apāramahimā* and *sīmā guṇa-grāhiṇām.* From this it can be inferred that there were a number of *sachivas* employed in the royal service and Sōḍhala headed this body of *sachivas (sachiva-maṁḍala)* and also that he was a very influential official and a man of great virtues. As regards the status and functions of the *sachiva* the present record does not furnish any information. *Sachiva* is also mentioned in the Kantēla inscription of Arjuna;[2] but there Sāmantasiṁha, who is described as a *sachiva* in verse 11, is called a *mantrī* in verse 9. Thus it seems that no distinction was made between these two terms, both being employed to mean a high royal officer.

Lāṭa-dēśa mentioned in line 7 is the same as the Lāṭa-maṇḍala. It "was formed by the southern half of Broach district and the northern part of Thana district".[3] Muḍāsaṇa can be identified with modern Mōḍāsā, the findspot of the present inscription, in the Sabarkantha district, Gujarat.

TEXT[4]

[Metres : Verses 17-20, 22-24, 27-28, 30-33 *Anushṭubh;* Verse 21 *Upajāti;* Verse 23 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita;* Verses 25-26 *Vasantatilakā;* Verse 29 *Āryā*].

1 . . . . Mālava-kavi

2 . . . . diva | dur-Daśānana-bhaṁgēna kīrttiṁ Sītāṁ=iv=āpa yaḥ || 17 || api· U U U – – – UUU UU – UU U U U U U – –U U U U U U – U U [18 ||*] U U U U

3 sanasthēna ti(ni)ja dōr-daṁḍa-vikramaiḥ | pūrvvaṁ pratyarthi-bhūpānām=ākrāṁtā bhūr=ath=ātmanaḥ || 1[9 * ||] U U U U U – – U U U U U U – U U U U U U U – – U U U U U U – U U [|| 20 || *] – – U – –

---

1 The other three being (1) The Vērāval Inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 241 ff; (ii) Kantēla Inscription, *PO.*, Vol. II, pp. 227 ff; and Ajārī Inscription, noticed in *The History of Rajputana*, Vol. I, p. 223.

2 *PO.*, Vol. II, pp. 227 ff.

3 *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 209.

4 From impressions.

4 ra-pramukhāni dharmma-krityāni sarvvāṇy=api nirmitāni | yaśōbhir=aṁbhōruha-garbha-gau[raih] ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – [॥21[*] ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – –

5 yā dharmmāt=pāti sati prajāḥ ॥ 22 ॥ Gōtrē-Rājabhaṭāyanē tri-bhuvana-khyātē='bhu(bha)van=nā – – – – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ ∪ – – – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ – – ∪

6 vad=bhāgya-bhūḥ śrīmān-Sōḍhala ity=apāra-mahimā sīmā guṇa-grāhiṇāṁ(ṇām) ॥ 23 ॥ Śrīmān-Arjuna-nṛi ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ [॥24*॥]

7 daṁḍ-ādhipatyam=adhitishṭa(shṭha)ti Lāṭa-dēśyaṁ śrī-Sōḍhalē sachiva-maṁḍala-sārvabhū(bhau)mē | lēbhē ka ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – – – ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – [॥25*॥] – – ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪

8 risiṁha-nāmā niḥśēshit=ākhila-tamāḥ sa kula-pradīpaḥ | sat-pātra vartti ghana-śud-dha-guṇa – – – – ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – [॥26*॥] ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪∪

9 vā(bā)latvād=ēva yaś=chakrē dharmmam=ēv=āvināśinaṁ(nam) ॥ 27 ॥ Koshṭagara-padē mudrāṁ dadhatā=rjuna-bhuvū ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ [॥28*॥] – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ –

10 vatsu trayōdaśa-śatēshu | viṁśēshu Māgha-māsē śuklē pakshē sulagnē cha ॥ 29 ॥ Prāsādaḥ ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ ॥ [30*॥]

11 Prithulair=upalair=va(ba)ddhā paritō jagatī prithuḥ | viśāla-śaila-prākāra-pratōlī-sama[laṁkritaḥ] [॥31*॥] ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪

12 [32 ॥ Mudāsana iti grāmō yas=tēna sv=ātma[sā] ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ [॥33*॥] . . . .

13 dvitayaṁ ॥ 34 ॥ sv=ānuja Kēlhana . . . .

14 . . . n=ārthaṁ . . . .

MŌḌĀSĀ INSCRIPTION OF ARJUNADĒVA, V.S. 1320

K V Ramesh

SCALE : ONE-HALF

NO. 22 – KALANDA COPPER PLATE CHARTER OF NAYAPĀLADĒVA

(*1 Plate*)

K. V. Ramesh and S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

The copper plate charter edited below was discovered in the village Kalanda while digging the ground for the construction of a pond. Kalanda is situated in Baliapal P.S. in Balasore District, Orissa. The plate which is at present deposited in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubanēśvar, was copied sometime in the year 1974 by the then Chief Epigraphist, Dr. G.S. Gai and noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1974-75, as No. A 12.

This is a single copper plate measuring 17.5 cms in length and 24 cms in breadth. It is engraved on both the sides. There are in all 48 lines of writing, 28 on the first side and 20 on the second. The plate bears at the top a circular seal whose diameter is about 9 cms. As in the seal of the Irdā copper plate charter,[1] the seal in the present charter too is divided into two semicircular panels, the upper panel containing the *dharma-chakra,* flanked on either side by a couchant deer and the lower panel bearing the legend *śrī-Nayapa(pā)ladēvasya* which is cut in bold relief.

The writing on both the sides of the copper plate has suffered considerable damage due to corrosion at a number of places. The corrosion might have taken place when the copper plate was long buried under the earth. Consequently the writing in several places has been obliterated. However, wherever possible, lost letters have been restored with the help of the text of the Irdā copper plate with which the text of our charter has much in common.

The characters belong to the proto-Bengali alphabet of about the 10th century A.D. and they compare favourably with those of the Irdā charter mentioned above. The form of *ś* is interesting. It is cursive in form and the loop shows a slight opening at the base as in *Śaṅkara* in line 30. The initial vowels *a, ā, i, ī, ē* and *au* are found respectively in lines 17, 35, 43, 23, 13 and 27. As regards orthography, *v* is invariably used for *b;* instead of final *m* the *anusvāra* is generally employed; the class nasals *ṇ, ñ* and *n* are found employed in quite a few cases. Further, instead of the sibilant *s* the palatal *ś* is wrongly used in some cases. The language employed is Sanskrit and the text is mostly in verse.

The charter opens with a salutation to the god Siva (line 1). The first five verses (lines 1-6) are devoted to the description of Priyaṅgu which was, in all probability, the capital city *(rājadhānī)* of the Kāmbōja kingdom. The eleven subsequent verses (verses 6-16) recount the genealogy of the king Nayapāladēva which is exactly the same as the one found in his Irdā copper plate charter referred to above. First is mentioned king

1 Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 150 ff.

Rājyapāla who had a queen by name Bhāgyadēvī. Their son was Nārāyaṇapāla, who was a great devotee of the god Vāsudēva. He was succeeded by his younger brother Nayapāla, the donor of the present grant. In the prose passage that follows, the imperial titles of Rājyapāla and his son and reigning king Nayapāla are given. While Rājyapāla is described as a *parama-saugata* besides being endowed with the imperial titles *Paramēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja,* Nayapāladēva is given only the imperial *birudas* and is described as meditating at the feet of the former.

The object of the inscription, as recorded in lines 21-32, is to record the royal grant of the village Vēttavaṇāvadraka, situated in the northern direction in Kēlāpalī-maṇḍala included in the Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala of Vardhamāna-bhukti to the brāhmaṇa donee *bhaṭṭaputra* Mādhava-śarmman, son of Vāsudēva-śarmman, grandson of Gaṇēśvara-śarmman and great-grandson of Bhūsha[ṇa]-śarmman, who belonged to Aupamanya-gōtra and three *pravaras,* who was an emigrant of Śrāvastī and resident of Vāgghōllāyi and was a student of Yajurvēda, for his own merit and that of his parents. The grant in the form of the copper plate charter was made by the king on the vishu-saṅkrānti day *(vishuvati-saṁkrāntau;* line 29). The various privileges and conditions that go with the granted village are described in the subsequent verses (18-21). Then are enumerated in verses 22-24 the various officials and personages of the royal household who are to protect the grant. This is followed by the usual imprecatory verses (verses 25-32) calling upon the present and future generations of people not to tamper with the grant under any circumstances. The charter is dated (line 48) in the king's fourteenth regnal year on the 11th day in the month of Āśvina.

The primary importance of our record lies in the fact that this is only the second copper plate charter of Nayapāladēva discovered so far, the first being the Irdā copper plate. In point of time, the present charter is later to the Irdā copper plate charter, our charter being dated in the 14th regnal year while the latter was issued in the 13th regnal year. Further the present charter sets at rest the controversy that has raged among the scholars regarding the reading of the name of the dynasty to which Nayapāladēva and his forbears belonged.[1] Both in the Irdā copper plate as well as in the charter under study, Rājyapāla is described as the forehead-mark of the family of *Kāmvō(bō)ja (Kāmvō(bō)ja-vaṁśa-tilakaḥ).*

Of the geographical names mentioned in the grant, the city of Priyaṅgu which is described at length in the beginning of the charter in no less than five verses, all of which are also found in the Irdā copper plate, has not yet been identified. This much, however, is certain that in the fluid political atmosphere of North India immediately following the reign of Harshavardhana, Rājyapāla, his son and successor Nārāyaṇapāla and the latter's younger brother and successor Nayapāla, members of the Kāmbōja-vaṁśa, had carved out for themselves a kingdom in the Bengal-Orissa region over which they ruled as sovereign kings, as is clearly borne out by their titles, with Priyaṅgu as their capital city *(rājadhānī).* Śrāvastī, from where the donee of the grant originally

1 Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 43-47; *The History of Bengal,* 1971, pp. 190-91.

emigrated, may be identified with the well known place of that name located in the Gonda District in Uttar Pradesh. Vāgghōllāyī where the donee was residing cannot be identified. Varddhamāna-bhukti and Daṇḍa-bhukti-maṇḍala in which the grant village was located, figure in the Irdā copper plate charter as well. Of these, Varddhamāna-bhukti has been located in the region comprising the major portion of the Burdwan Division of Bengal.[1] Daṇḍa-bhukti-maṇḍala, which is stated to be included in Varddhamāna-bhukti, has to be located somewhere in the Burdwan division.[2] Kēlāpali-maṇḍala can be identified with the village Kalanda where the grant in question was discovered. Vēttāvaṇāvadraka may be identical with the modern village Vētana in Balasore District.[3]

TEXT[4]

[Metres : Verses 1-5, 7-11, 13, 18-21, 27-28, 32, *Anushṭubh;* verses 6, 12, 16, 23-25, *Vasantatilakā;* verse 14, *Indravajrā;* verses 15, 26, *Upajāti;* verse 17, 22, *Vaitālīya;* verse 29, *Śālinī;* verse 30, *Pushpitāgrā* and verse 31 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*].

Obverse

1 Ni li anu jō[5]

2 Siddham[6] [I*] Ōm namaḥ Śivāya || Svāsti | Dūra-vyōm-ōdgama-klāntair=iva yatra surālayaiḥ | chalat-patākā-jihv-āgrair=vvilihyantē

3 [payō] muchaḥ || [1*] [Ya]syāṁ hōm-āgni-dhūm-aughaḥ ka[rōti] sva(ga)gan-ōdgataḥ | makha-hūta-Sunāsīra-vāhan-āmbhōda-vibhra[ma] ṁ(mam)

4 || [2*] [Apāṁ] gāhana-[pānābhyāṁ] jaḍitā iva tōyadāḥ | [hai]mān=agni-ruchō yasyā[ṁ] prātō(kā)rān=adhisē(śē)ratē || [3*] Sphātikā-

5 5 [ni sphuṭ-ābhāni gō]purāni bibhartti yā | yaśōbhir=iva liptādi(ni) nitya nirggāmibhiḥ prabhōḥ || [4*] Na(Ta)syā visma-

---

1 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 43 f; History of Bengal (Ed. by R.C. Majumdar), Vol. I, p. 190 f.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 153.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 154.

4 From impressions.

5 Of the above four abbreviations *ni* stands for *nibaddha* or *nirīkshitā*, *li* for *likhitam* and *anu* means 'there-after'. The expansion and meaning of *jō* is not known. The same letter occurs in the Irdā copper plate charter also. (*Ibid.*, p. 157, text, line 49). In some of the East Indian charters, the expressions like *mahāsāndhi-ni anu muhāksha ni* occur (*Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 207, text, line 62; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 140 text, line 42).

6 Expressed by a symbol.

6 [yanîy-arddhēr=vardhamā] na-guṇ-ōdgatēḥ | nisthāma-dharmma-rājāya rāja ||[1] dhāḥ[2] Priyangutaḥ || [5*] Kāmvōja-vaṅśa[3]tila [kaḥ]

7 [sthira-vikrama] śrīr=aśrānta-dāna-[mahimā*] -mahita-prabhāvaḥ | kshmāpāla-mauli-chaya-chumbita-pāda-pīṭhaḥ pṛithvī-patiḥ Pṛi-

8 [thur=abhūd=iha] Rājyapālaḥ || [6*] Śrīmatō Rājyapālasya vēlā-valaya-mēkhalāṁ [|*] nishkaṇṭakam=anāpāyaṁ pari-

9 [pāla] yatō bhuvaṁ(vam) || [7*] Sūnuḥ sūnṛita-vāgē(g=ya)sya jananī jana-pūjitā | śrīmatī Bhāgyadēvī=ti dēvī=va Hima[śai] -

10 [lajā] || [8*] Yēna pāda-nakha-jyōtsnā-ja(jā)lēn=ālika-sva(saṁ)sthitāḥ [|*] prakshā-litā vipakshāṇām=aśubh-ākshara-paṅktaya[ḥ-]

11 [||] [9*] [Darppa-jvarō] vīrya-kaṇḍur-ādhmānaṁ yēna mānajam | chikitsitāni mahatā pratāpēn=aiva vidvishāṁ(shām) || [10*] Bhuvaṁ yajñ-āśinō

12 dēvā divaṁ sōma-sutas=tathā | āvasanti nṛipē yasmin=niyamēn=aiva lōkayōḥ || [11*] Nārācha-ruddha-nabhasām=ari-

13 vāhinīnām=angaiś=chaturbhir=api jētum=ayātam=ājau | ēkaḥ prasūnama[ya] -pañ-cha-sa(śa)ras=tv=Anaṅgō yaṁ jēshyat=īti

14 [kuta] ēva kathā-pravṛittiḥ || [12*] Sa Vāsudēva-pād-āvja(bja)-pūjā-nirata-mānasaḥ | śrī- Nārāyaṇapāl-ākhyaḥ kalyā-

15 [ṇi] kshitipō= 'bhavat || [13*] Nārāyaṇasy=ēva Narō mahātmā Saṁkarshaṇasy=ēva cha Sā(Śā)rṅgapāṇiḥ | Dharmmātmajasy=ē

16 [va] Dhanañjayō=bhūt=tasy=ānujaḥ śrī-Nayapāladēvaḥ || [14*] Lavdhō(bdh-ō) dayō bhrātur=anantaraṁ yaḥ śriyaṁ sā(sa)māsādya durā-

17 sadō= 'bhūt | astāchalaṁ chandramasi prapadyē(nnē) divaṁ vivasvān=iva gāhamā-naḥ | [| 15*] Yēna vidvishā [ṁ][4] na gaṇitā-

---

1 The double *daṇḍa* is redundant.

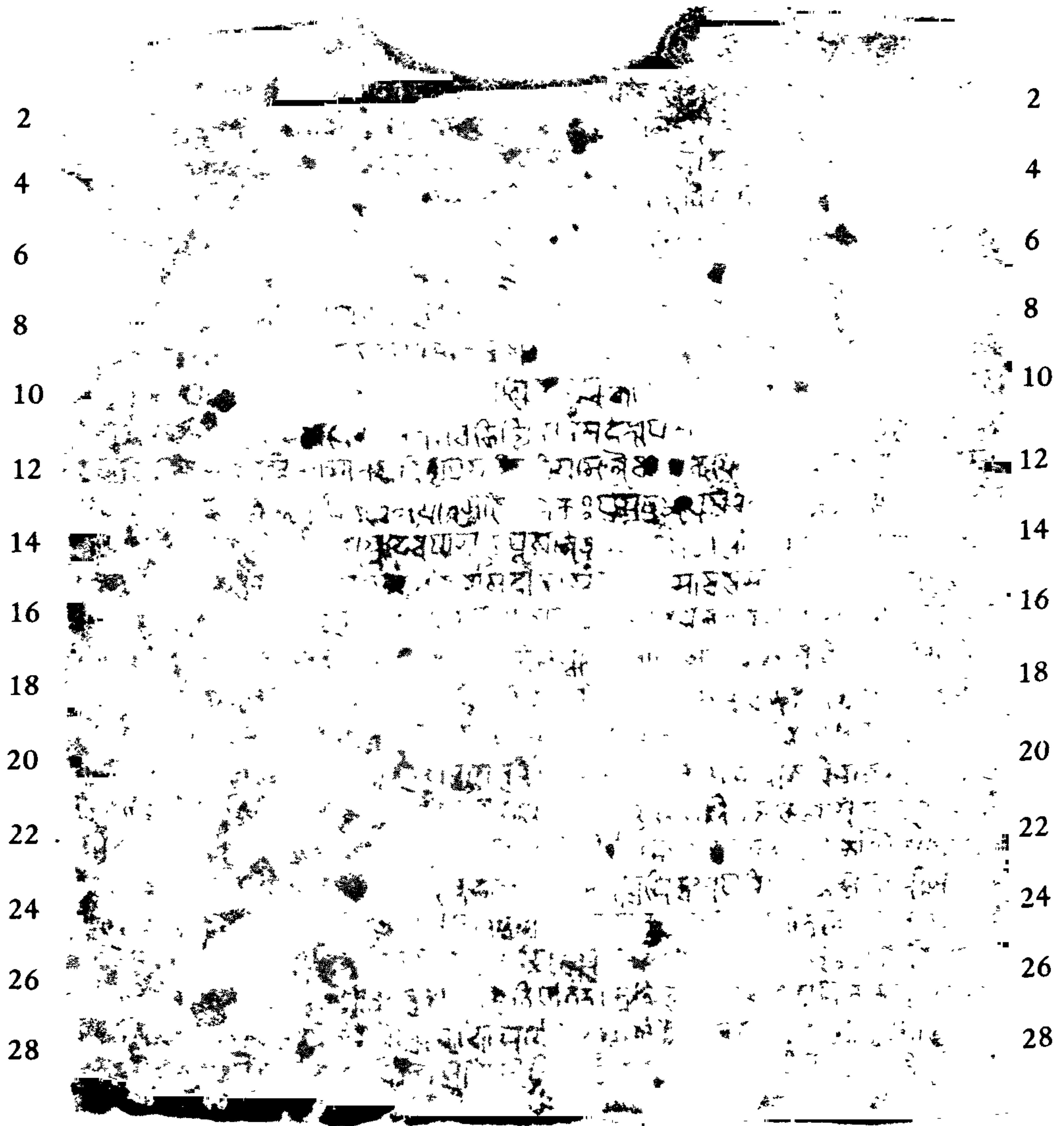
2 Read *dhānyāḥ* as in the Irdā copper plate.

3 Read *-vaṁśa-*

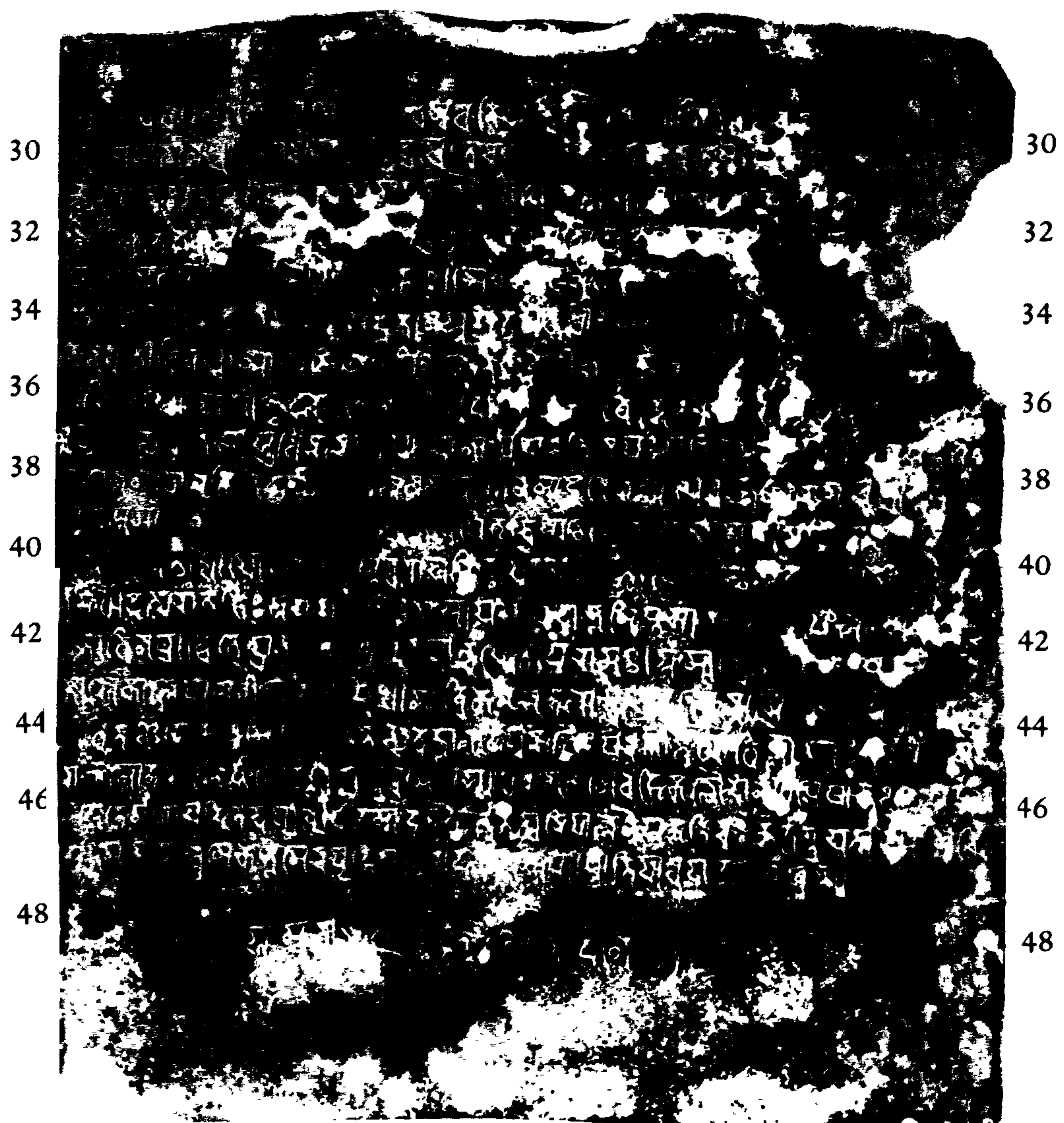
4 Read *dvishāṁ* as in the Irdā copper plate.

KALANDA COPPER PLATE CHARTER OF NAYAPĀLADĒVA, YEAR 14

i a



i b



SCALE : ONE-HALF

SEAL



SCALE : ONE-HALF

18 [ni] mahā-va(ba)lāni n=āpēkshitaḥ parijanō=pi nijaḥ samīpē | ēkākin=aiva bhuja-Mandara-mathyamānāl=lavdhā(bdhā)

19 [sa] mīka-jaladhēḥ sa(śa)tasō(śō) ja[ya-śrīḥ] [16*] Paramasaugatō mahārājādhirāja || paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāra-

20 ka- śrī-Rājyapāladēva-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭārakō mahārājādhirājaḥ śrīmān=Nayapā-

21 [la] dēvaḥ kuśalī | śrī-Varddhamāna-bhuktāv=[antaḥ[pā] [ti*] -Daṇḍa-bhukti-maṇḍala-saṁniva(ba) ddha-Kēlāpalī-maṇḍalē utta-

22 ra-disam(śaṁ) Vēttāvaṇā Vēttāvāṇā[1]vadraka-grāmē | Karaṇair=vyavahāriṇaḥ samaṁ krishakāṁś=ch=aiva nivāsibhi-

23 [s=tathā-] | dvija-pūj-ādi-pūrvvam=ādiśaty=avagachchhantu bhavanta īdṛisa(śaṁ) || [17*] Prasiddhayā parichchhinnaḥ svayā sīmā(mnā) sama-

24 [nta] taḥ | vāstu-kshētra-jalādhāra-gartta-mā[r*] gga-samanvitaḥ || 18*] S-ōshar-āvaskara-sthāna-nivīta-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ | saha-

25 [kāra-madhū] k-ādi-taru-shaṇḍ-ādi-maṇḍitaḥ || [19*] Varjjitaḥ sarvva-pīḍābhir=achāṭa-bhaṭa-gōcharaḥ | rāja-grāhyēṇa

26 [sarvvēṇa] pratyāyēna samanvitaḥ || [20*] ā-chandr-ārkka-kshiti[ṁ*] yāvat | [21*][2] bhukti-pratyāyēna |[3] bhaṭṭaputra-Bhūsha[ṇ] a-sa(śa)rmmaṇa[ḥ*]

27 [prapautrā] ya | Gaṇēśvara-sa(śa)rmmaṇaḥ pautrāya | Vāsudēva-(śa)rmmaṇaḥ putrāya | Aupamanya-gōtrāya tra-

28 [yārishaya[4]-pravarāya] yajurvvēd-ādhyāyinē | Śrāvastī-vinirggata-Vāgghōllāyī-vāstavya-bhaṭṭaputra-

Reverse

29 śrī-Mādhava-sa(śa) rmmaṇē |[3] grāmō='yam |[3] Visu(shu)vati-saṁkrāntau |[3] snātvā vidhivad=udaka-pūrvvakam kṛitvā mātā-

---

1 The name of the village has been inadvertantly twice engraved by the scribe. The correct name of the village appears to have been Vēttāvaṇāvadraka.

2 This is only one quarter of a verse. This verse is incomplete in the Irdā copper plate also.

3 The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

4 Read *tryārshēya*.

30 pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō='bhivṛiddhayē bhagavanta[ṁ] Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭāra-kam=uddiśy=āsmābhis=tāmra-sā(śā)sanī-

31 kṛitya dattaḥ | Tappū(t=pū)rvvaṁ pratyāyaṁ samagraṁ=asmai vidhēyatāṁ gatvā kāl-ōchitaṁ dadānāḥ |[1] sukhē[na]

32 nivasat=ēha || Mahi[shī-yuvarāja]-mantriṇaḥ saha |[1] ṛitvigbhir=a[thō purō]hitaṁ | . . . .

33 yōginō dharmmajnāṁś=cha saman pradēshṭribhiḥ || [22*] Adhyaksha-varggam=akhilaṁ karaṇaiḥ samē[taṁ sēnāpati]-

34 ṁ=cha sainika-saṁgha-mukhyaiḥ | dūtān sa-gūḍhapurushān saha mantrapālair=anyān=api kshitipa-

35 tēr=anujīvinaś=cha || [23*] Āgāminō=pi nṛipati(tī)n=nija-tīrtha-yuktān [snēhēna] vichakshati[2] vadaty=anu[śāsti]

36 ch=āpi | asmān=samīkshya haraṇē [cha*] niva(śa)mya dōshāṁ(shaṁ) dānaṁ bha-vadbhir=anupālyaṁ=idaṁ śad=aiva || [24*] [Asmā]-

37 n=pratisphurati sāsu(dhu)[3]-vichāraṇāyā[ṁ*] |[1] dānam=mahān=ati |[1]sha(śa)yaḥ paripālanasya || (|) – – ∪ – ∪ ∪

38 pa-dānam=athō na kiñchid-dharmmas=tu pālanam=apālanam=āhur=ēnaḥ || [25*] Yē brāhmaṇānām=a-yathā haranti

39 pradēśa-mātrām=api bhūta-dhātrīṁ | purīsha-kūpē pitṛibhis=samētās=tē kalpa-kōṭīr-api yāpayanti || [26*] Sva-

40 dattā[ṁ*] para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ | sa vishṭhāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē || [27*] Va(Ba)hu[bhi]-

41 r=vvasudhā datya(ttā) rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [28*] Sa[rvvān=ētā]-

42 n=bhāvina[ḥ*] prā(pā)rthivēndrān bhūyō bhūyō prārthayē(ya)ty=ēsha Rāmaḥ |' sāmānyō=yam dharmma-sētur=nṛipāṇām

---

1 The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

2 Read *vīkshati* as in the Irdā copper plate.

3 In the Irdā copper plate, the reading is *yaś=cha*..

43 kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ || [29*] Iti kamaladal-āmva(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlāṁ śriyam=anuchintya [manushya] -

44 jīvitan=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitan=cha va(bu)dhvā na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrt-tayō vilōpyāḥ || [30*] Ēvaṁ bhī[ma-pa] -

45 rākramō narapatirvrū(r=brūtē) vivichya svayam |[1] śrēyas=sādhanam=ēkam=ēva ni kalau dānaṁ viśēshāt=tu vaḥ [| dātum n=ō] -

46 tsahatē manō yadi tadapy[2]=anyair=yad=asmādṛiśair=dattam tat=paripālanė sukritinah kurvvantu yatr-ādharami(m || 31 I)ti

47 Gām=ēkāṁ svarṇṇam=ēkaṁ [va*]| bhūmēr=apy=arddhaṁ=angulam | haran=nara-kam=āpnōti yāvad=āhūta-samplavaṁ(vaṁ) || [32*]

48 Samvat 14 Aś[vi] na dinē 11 [||*]

---

1 The stroke is redundant.

2 Read *tadā=py.*

NO. 23 – A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM CHIḌIYĀ IN HARYANA

(*1 Plate*)

K. V. Ramesh, Mysore

This interesting but fragmentary stone inscription, edited here for the first time, was copied by me from among the inscribed slabs displayed in the Haryana Prāntīya Saṅgrahālaya attached to the Gurukul at Jhajjar, Jhajjar Tehsil, Haryana during my collection tour undertaken in March-April, 1979. I was informed by the Gurukul authorities that this fragmentary slab was originally discovered in the village of Chiḍiyā in the Dadari Tehsil of Mahendragarh District, Haryana.

In its present state of preservation, the written surface of the slab contains three incomplete lines in which an unknown number of letters are lost both at the beginning and at the end of each of the lines. Twelve letters are, as at present, preserved in each of the three available lines.

The characters employed in the inscription are what may be called the **Kushāṇa-Brāhmī** of the 1st-2nd century A.D. The writing is somewhat indifferent. There is a free mixture of angular and rounded forms, not an unusual feature of Kushāṇa palaeography. The serif or headmark in most of the letters is prominent and approximates to what is usually called 'nail-head'. Initial *a* which occurs once in *asakṛit* (line 3) has a peculiar, rather casual form, resembling capital Roman 'N' in the negative. The downward curve of the horizontal bar of the letter *k*, with a long, straight vertical, (line 3) is rather pronounced. The letter *g* (lines 1 and 3) is of the angular variety, with a thick mark at left bottom from where obviously the letter began to be written. Of the conjunct letter *jñō* (line 1), the superscript *j* is angular and with three arms, the medial *ā* sign starting off from the the middle arm while the subscript *ña* has a prominent cursive right hook attached to a rather longish right vertical. The letter *ṇ* (lines 2 and 3) has a prominently bent base from whose centre two tuft-like marks go up, one bending downwards to the left and the other to the right. The angular shaped *t* (lines 1 and 3) has a prominent nail-head. The letter *dh* (line 2) has a vertical stroke to which a semi-circle, tending towards angularity, is attached on the left. The letter• *p* (line 1) has a rounded base and equal arms. Two types of the letter *m* are seen, one an open mouthed variety with a curve or half circle at the left (line 2) and the other, also open mouthed, but with a tail-like projection at left bottom (line 3). As in the case of the letter *k*, *r* (lines 1 and 2) also has a long, straight vertical. The letter *v* (line 2) is a triangle, with a well marked nail-head. The outer frame of the letter *ś* (line 2) is the same as the letter *g*, the only difference being a downward stroke attached to the centre on the inner side of the left limb. The letter *s* (lines 1-3) is of the equal armed variety, though the left hook has a greater tendency to turn rightwards.

Of medial vowel signs, the sign for *ā* occurs as an upward stroke slanting to the right in the conjunct letter *jñō* (line 1). The sign for medial *i*, as employed in *śi* (lines 2 and 3) is attached on the outer side of the right limb and, after proceeding slantingly

upwards takes a turn to the left. The sign for medial *ī*, as employed in *pī* (line 3) consists of two strokes proceeding upward from the left limb with a slight rightward disposition, the stroke on the right being longer than the one on the left. In the case of *śrī*, the medial *ī* sign in the form of an angular Roman letter 'U' is engraved on the right top of the round-head of the letter *ś*. The sign for medial *u*, as found in the letter *pu* (line 2), is a long, straight downward stroke attached to the right limb of the letter *p*. In the letter *kṛi* (line 3), the medial sign for *ṛi* is a downward stroke attached to the left of the long vertical, just below the semi-circular horizontal limb. The medial sign for *ō* (in *rō*, line 2 and *gō* and *tsō*, line 3) consists of two strokes attached to the top of the letters and proceeding upwards in opposite directions.

Subscript *y* occurs in two forms. In writing *sy* twice in line 1, the hooked variety is employed while in the cases of *sy* in line 2 and *kya* in line 3 the tripartite *y* with a frontal loop is employed. The *rēpha* occurs as superscript once in line 2 in *rma* where it is a straight vertical stroke proceeding upwards from the left limb of the letter *m*. While in *putrēṇa* in line 2 the subscript *r* is indicated by a mere semblance of a leftward bend of the right vertical, in *gōtrēṇa* in line 3 it is clearly marked by a leftward cursive horizontal line attached to the bottom of the right vertical.

The full form of the letter *s* is employed as subscript in *tsō* in line 3. While all the above features fall more or less in line with the known palaeographical details of the Brāhmī alphabet of the 1st-2nd century A.D., the minor deviations being attributable to the transitional phase or to individual writing style, it is only the form of the initial vowel *a* in line 3 which marks a complete departure from all known forms.

The **language** of the text of the inscription, in the available portion, is Sanskrit which is faultless. As an interesting **orthographical** feature, it may be pointed out that in *śarma* (line 2), the only case in which *r* precedes a consonant, the following letter *m* is not doubled unlike in almost all Sanskrit inscriptions of the subsequent periods.

In view of the fragmentary nature of the epigraph, we are not in a position to know its purport. The first line introduces a ruler whose name begins with the letter *pa* (the rest of the letters being lost) and who is described as *rājan* and *Gōtamī-putra*. The other two lines mention a priest *(purōdhas)* whose name is lost but who is described as the son of Śivaśarman, as belonging to the [Kauś] ikya-sagōtra and as a constant drinker of the sacrificial *sōma* juice.

It is well known, from numismatic evidence, that a number of local rulers held sway over different parts of North India, including the Panjab-Haryāṇā region preceding, during and succeeding the Kushāṇa period.[1] Some of these rulers are mentioned in their coins along with their matronyms among which Gōtamīputra is also found. It is very likely that the Gōtamīputra of our inscription was one such ruler administering a minor principality in the region of the Dadari Tehsil. His feudal title *rājan* is a clear pointer to the fact that he was only a subordinate ruler; his suzerains were, in all probability, the mighty Kushāṇas.

---

1 *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 159.

The Kushāṇa period was witness to important religious developments, brāhmanical as well as Buddhist. Our inscription belongs to the brāhmanical school and the royal priest is described as one who had performed innummerable sacrifices entailing the religious imbibing of the *sōma* juice.

TEXT[1]

1 .... [vas]ya r[ā]jñ[ō] Gōta[mīpu]t[rā]ya śrī-Pa... .....

2 .... sya purōdhasā Śivaśarma-putrēṇa.........

3 .... [Kauś]ikya-sagōtr[ē][2] ṇa asakṛit=sōma-[p]ī[thinā*].. ....

---

1 From inked estampages.

2 There is a mere trace of the medial ē sign attached to the left of the top of the letter *tra*.

2 2

K I Ramesh

SCALE · ONE-HALF

NO. 24 – KANNADA SĀHITYA PARISHAT PLATES OF GANGA MĀDHAVAVARMAN (III), YEAR 1

(*1 Plate*)

K.V. Ramesh, Mysore

This set of copper-plate inscription, edited here for the first time, was copied in 1978,[1] along with another set[2] issued during the reign of Siṁhavarman, another early Western Gaṅga ruler, by the then Chief Epigraphist, Shri K.G. Krishnan with the kind permission of the authorities of the Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishat, Bangalore where the sets are at present deposited. The set consists of four rectangular plates, each measuring about 20.3 x 5.5 cms. In the left centre of each plate, about 4.2 cms away from the edge, is a round hole, .8 cm in diametre, for the ring of the seal to pass through. No information is available regarding the weight of the plates nor about the seal and ring.

Of the four plates of the set, the first and fourth bear writing only on the inner sides while the other two plates are engraved on both sides. There are altogether 23 lines of writing distributed equally on the six written sides.

The charter is engraved in **Southern characters** which may be assigned, on grounds of palaeography, to the second half of the fifth century A.D. The **language** employed is **Sanskrit** and, but for three imprecatory verses at the end, the rest of the text is in prose. The **palaeographical** features and the textual diction are normal for the period and region to which the charter belongs. Though the composition and engraving of the text are mostly free from errors, there are a couple of instances of omission and commission, for which necessary corrections have been suggested while editing the text below. One point of palaeographical interest, which could as well be an **orthographical** peculiarity, is that the engraver has not taken pains to distinguish between medial *i* and *ī* signs.

The **object** of the inscription is to register the royal grant of three *kēdāra-kshētras* under the tank (of the town) of Kuvalāla in Kuvalāla-rāshṭra, made by the Gaṅga king **Mādhavavarma-mahādhirāja**, in the first year of his reign, on the full-moon day of the month Phālguna, when the *nakshatra* was Uttarā, to the brāhmaṇa Divākarasvāmin.

The text opens with the auspicious word *svasti,* engraved in the vacant space on the left margin, before the commencement of line 3. The usual salutation to the god Padmanābha (line 1) is followed by the introduction of the progenitor of the Gaṅga dynasty, Koṅgaṇivarma-dharmma-mahādhirāja (lines 1-3). Next are mentioned (lines 3-6) his son Mādhavavarma-[mahā*]dhirāja, his son (lines 6-7) Harivarma-mahādhirāja

---

1 The charter has been noticed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1978-79, as No. A.10.

2 This set is also edited in the pages of this journal. Above, pp. 189 ff and plate.

and his son (lines 7-9) Vishṇugōpa-mahādhirāja. The charter then proceeds to describe (lines 9-14) Vishṇugōpa's son and reigning king Mādhavavarma-mahādhirāja as one who respected the gods, the twice-born, his elders and the aged, as one who had obtained his kingdom by dint of the strength of his arms, as one who was like nectar in kindness and like poison in rage, as one who had acquired all his wealth through his meditation at the lotus feet of the god Hara (i.e. Śiva), as one who was ever engaged in the task of uplifting righteousness from the mire of the Kali age, as one before whom bowed a circle of powerful kings, as one whose royal wealth had grown because of his possession of the three *śaktis*, as one who had avidly given sacrificial gifts and grants repeatedly and as one who had become famous for the restoration of *brahmadēyas* which had long since been discontinued.

Lines 14-18 state that on the full-moon day of the month **Phālguna**, when the nakshatra was **Uttarā**, in the first year of his expansive, victorious and prosperous reign, the king Mādhavavarman made, for the increase of his own victories, longevity and prosperity, a grant, in accordance with the rules of *brahmadēya*, of three wetfields called Kuraṭṭūra-kēdāra, Chemba-kēdāra and Chakra-kēdāra, lying under the tank (of the town) of Kuvalāla in Kuvalāla-rāshṭra, to the brāhmaṇa Divākarasvāmin of the Vatsa-gōtra and Vājasanēya-śākhā. The gift-lands were duly exempted from all hindrances.

The imprecatory prose passage in lines 18-19, which states that whoever flouts the grant thus made either out of avarice or inadvertance would have incurred, in effect, the five great sins, is followed (lines 19-23) by three of the usual imprecatory verses ascribed here to Manu. The charter is concluded with a prayer for the well-being of cows and brāhmaṇas and for peace.

Until the discovery of the present charter, only one copper-plate inscription was available for the reign of Mādhavavarman (III), viz., his Noṇamaṅgala plates[1] issued in his 13th regnal year and registering royal grants of land made to the temple of the Arhat in the village of Perboḷal in Mudukottūra-vishaya. The present charter, only the second one of his reign to come to light, is also the earliest known record of his reign, dated as it is in his very first regnal year.

One point of interest in the dynastic history of the Western Gaṅgas is the fact that, with the accession of Mādhavavarman II, their genealogical narrative becomes

---

1 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mr. 73 and plate opp. p. 208. There is one other copper-plate set from Meḷekōṭe (*Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1910, p. 17 and pl. opp. p. 16), Tumkur District, Karnataka, which may be tentatively assigned to the reign of this Mādhavavarman (III). The second plate of this set, which must have contained the eulogies of Mādhavavarman (I), Harivarman, Vishṇugōpa and Mādhavavarman (III) as also details of date, if any, is lost. Still, on grounds of palaeography, as also a statement towards the end of the text that the charter belongs to Mādhavavarman (*Śrī-Mādhavavarmaṇaḥ śāsanam*) it may be assigned to Mādhavavarman (III). It this assumption is accepted, we have an interesting position in that the three charters of this king will have three different religious orientation. While the charter edited here records a royal grant of land to a *vaidika* brāhmaṇa in the first year of his reign, the Noṇamaṅgala plates register the royal grant of lands to a Jaina temple of the Arhat. And the Meḷekōṭe plates, on the other hand, record a royal grant of lands, money and cloth to a Buddhist *vihāra*

KANNAḌA SĀHITYA PARISHAT PLATES OF GAṄGA MĀDHAVA VARMAN III, YEAR 1

PLATE I

SEAL





(From Photograph)

extremely formalised and stereotyped. While editing the Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishat plates of Siṁhavarman above,[1] we had occasion to point out that Mādhavavarman was not the direct descendant of his predecessor Mādhavavarman II *alias* Siṁhavarman. Mādhavavarman II's available charters mark a departure from those of his predecessors in so far as they do not contain a formalised eulogistic account of his personality, reign and achievements. With the accession of Mādhavavarman III, however, the process of formalisation of dyanstic *praśasti* came back into vogue. In that process, Mādhavavarman III as well as his successors chose to omit all references to Mādhavavarman II and his father Kṛishṇavarman in much the same fashion as the Chalukyas of Vātāpi who, from the time of Polakēśin II, make no mention of the ousted emperor Maṅgalēśa in their genealogical narrative as given in their copper plate inscriptions. This fact, coupled with the claim of Mādhavavarman III that he obtained his kingdom through a show of force *(sva-bhuja-bala-parākrama-kraya-krīta-rājyēna,* lines 9-10) implies that Mādhavavarman III's succession to the Western Gaṅga throne was not a smooth affair and probably took place against the wishes of Mādhavavarman II.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the present charter, Kuvalāla-rāshṭra is the district around the modern township of Kōlār, the headquarters of the Kolar District. Kuvalāla is the same as Kolar and the three gift-fields, Kuraṭṭūra-kēdāra, Chemba-kēdāra and Chakra-kēdāra lay obviously in the vicinity of a tank which was named after the town itself.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 Svasti[3] [|*] Jit[4]ām=bhagavatā gata-ghana-gagan-ābhēna Padmanābhēna [|*] Śrīmaj= Jāhnavēya-ku-

2 l-āmala-vyōma(m-ā)vabhāsana-bhāskarasya Kāṇvāyāna-sagōtrasya śrīmat-Koṅgaṇi-

3 varmma-dharmma-mahādhirājasya putrasya pitur-anvāgata-guṇa-yukta-

4 sya nānā-śāstr-ārttha-sad-bhāv-ādhigama-praṇīta-mati-viśēshasya samya-

---

1 Above, pp.

2 From inked impressions.

3 This word is engraved on the left margin, before the commencement of line 3.

4 Since the engraver makes no distinction between medial *i* and *ī* signs, they have been read here and hereinafter as *i* and *ī* as per need.

Second Plate : First Side

5 k-prajā-pālana-mātr-ādhigata-rājya-prayōja[na*]sya śrīman-Mādhavavarmma-[mahā*] dhirā-

6 jasya sūnōr=anēka-yuddha-labdha-yaśaḥ-prakāśasya vasudhā-tal-aika-vīrasya śrī-

7 mad=dHarivarmma-mahādhirājasya putrasya pitṛi-paitāmaha-guṇa-gaṇ-ā-

8 laṁkṛitasya abhyuchchita-śakti-siddhi-sampannasya śrīmatō Mi(Vi)shṇugōpa-ma-

Second Plate : Second Side

9 hādhirājasya putrēṇa dēva-dvija-guru-vṛiddh-āpachāyinā sva-bhuja-bala-parākrama-kri(kra)-

10 ya-krītā(ta)-rājyēna amṛita-visha-sama-prasāda-kōpēna Bhagavad=dHara-chara-

11 ṇ-āravind-ārādhana-sampādita-sampādita-sarvva-sampadā Kali-yuga-dosh-āvasanna-sa-

12 d-dharmm-ōddharaṇa-kṛita-parikarēṇa pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalēna śakti-traya-

Third Plate : First Side

13 sampat=pravṛiddha-rājaśriyā anēka-yajña-dakshiṇā-dān-aika-vrata-tatparēṇa chira-vichchhinna-

14 brahmadēya-pradāna-prathita-kīrttinā śrīman-Mādhavavarmma-mahādhīrajēna ātmanaḥ pravarddha-

15 māna-vipula-vijay-aiśvaryyē prathamē saṁvatsarē Phālgunē māsē tithau paurṇṇamā-syāṁ

16 uttarē(rā)-nakshatrē sva-vijay-āyushy-aiśvaryy-ābhivṛiddhayē Vatsa-gōtrāya Vājasa-nēyinē Divā-

Third Plate : Second Side

17 karasvāminē Kuvalāla-rāshṭrē Kuvalāla-taṭākasy-ādhastāt Kuraṭṭūra-kēdāraś=cha Chemba-kēdāraś=cha Chakra-kēdāraś=cha

PLATE II

i

iia

iib

iiia

14 14

16 16

iiib

18 18

20 20

iv

22 22

24 24

SCALE : ONE-HALF

18 ētāni trayāṇi kēdārāṇi brahmadēya-kramēṇa sarvva-parihāra-yuktaḥ[1] sampradat-taḥ[2] [|*] yō=

19 sya lōbhāt-pramādād=vā=pi harttā sa pañcha-mahāpātā(ta)ka-samyuktō bhavati [|*] api cha Manu-gī-

20 tā[ḥ*] ślōkā[ḥ*] bhavanti ||| Sva-dattām=para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ (rām) [|*] gavāṁ śata-sahasrasya

Fourth Plate

21 hantuḥ pibati dushkṛitam || [1*] Bhūmi-dānāt-paran-dānan=na bhūtan=na bhavi-shyati [|*]

22 tasy=aiva harṇāt-pāpan=na bhūtan=na bhavishyati ||| [2*] Brahmasvan=tu vishaṁ ghōraṁ

23 na vishaṁ visham=uchyatē[|*] visham-ēkākinaṁ hanti brahmasvaṁ putra-pautrikam ||| [3*]

24 Svasty-astu gō-brāhmanēbhyaḥ |||Śāntir-astuḥ(stu) ||[3]

1 Read °*yuktāni.*

2 Read *sampradattāni.*

3 The metre of all these three verses is *Anushṭubh*.

NO. 25 – MADUTURRU INSCRIPTION OF RĀJARĀJADĒVA (III) ŚAKA 1119, YEAR 1

(*1 Plate*)

Madhav N. Katti and S.S. Ramachandra Murthy, Mysore

The subjoined inscription,[1] edited with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore is engraved on a slab fixed into the wall of the Bhīmēśvara temple in Maḍuturru, Sarvasiddhi Taluk, Visakhapatnam District, Andhra Pradesh. It is in Telugu characters and language of the 12th-13th century.

The palaeographical features are regular for the period. However, the following letters call for special remarks. The letter *ḍ* is written like *ḷ* in words like *Gaḍārapaṭṭu* (line 5), *Chōḍīśvara* (lines 10-11), *Umbaḍi-rāju* (lines 13-14), etc. The letter *ṭ* has a loop on its left side in two cases as in the words *Malli-seṭṭi* (line 7), *Settama-seṭṭi* (line 8) and °*seṭṭikāra* (line 9) while in all other cases it is without this loop. The letter *bh* is found engraved in two forms. The first variety has both its halves joined as can be seen in *bhūmi* (line 15) while the second variety shows the usual splitting of the two halves as in *bhūmi* (line 35). The letter *bh* in *Bhīma-bōyu* (line 16) belongs to a third variety in which the unsplit bottom has a convex boatbase. The cursive form of the letter *v* can be seen in the words *cheṛuvu* (lines 21, 30) and *dharmmuvu* (line 41).

Among the orthographical peculiarities the use of class nasal in words like *Anantavarmma* (line 2) *Gaṇḍa*° (line 6) and *akhaṇḍa*- (line 15); the reduplication of the letter immediately following the *rēpha* as in °*varmma* (line 2), *pravarddhamāna* (line 3), *ā-chaṁdrārkka* (lines 39-40), *dharmmuvu* (line 41) and the reduplication of the letter following *anusvāra* as in *Maṁggalavāra* (line 5) *siṁggamu* (line 6), *gaṭṭiṁchchi* (line 12), *uṁḍḍu*°(line 15) etc., are worth noticing.

The epigraph belongs to the reign of Anantavarmma Rājarājadēva and is dated in his regnal year 1, Śaka 1119, Kanyā-māsa, śu. 11, Thursday which regularly corresponds to 1197 A.D., September 23.

The object of the inscription is to record the installation of the deity Chōḍīśvara-mahādēva in the temple constructed for him and to register grants of lands and cows for maintaining services and a perpetual lamp respectively in the temple by some members of merchant guilds.

The inscription opens with the auspicious word *svasti* followed by the details of date which include reference to the 1st regnal year of the ruling king Anantavarmarāja-rāja, as discussed above (lines 1-5). Lines 6 to 12 record the consecration of the deity Chōḍīśvara-mahādēva and construction of a temple to him at Maṛutoḍiti by Prōli-seṭṭi, names of whose father, grandfather and great-grandfather are given, Pōti-seṭṭi and

1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1955-56, No. B. 111.

Vāmi-seṭṭi, all belonging to the merchant-guild called *seṭṭikāṛa*. Lines 12-15 register the grant of land *(uṁḍḍu-bhūmi)* of 2 *puṭṭis* in extent at *Madhuḍi* by Prōli-seṭṭi, obviously for the maintenance of services in the temple. The gift-land is stated to be located near two tanks one belonging to Prōli-seṭṭi and the other to Akkama-seṭṭi. The gift is stated to have been made for the merit of a certain Uṁbaḍirāju. Lines 15-18 record the gift of 25 cows, probably by Prōli-seṭṭi himself, for maintaining an *akhaṇḍa-dīpa* in the temple. Lines 18-19 record the grant of land of 10 *tūmus (paṁdumu)* in extent at Golavaḍi, to Chōḍi Kōnāri who was to maintain the *akhaṇḍa-dīpa* referred to above, probably again by Prōli-setti himself. Lines 19 to 35 record the grant of lands in different localities by different individuals, obviously to the temple for its maintenance. It may be noted in this context that the land granted is of two types viz. *garuvu-bhūmi* (marshy land) and *oṁḍḍu* (or *uṁḍḍu)-bhūmi* (land of alluvial soil). Lines 35 to 41 state that 12 *sānis* (dancing girls), 2 *mokarulu (mukharī* players), *vāṁsakāṇḍu* (flutist), *jyāvāri peṭṭina āvajakāṁḍu* (player of *āvaja* combined with *jyāvāri*)[1] and 2 *maddalayakāṛu (mṛidaṅgam* players) and also 4 *ba(pa)nnaṁkāṛu* (probably servants)[2] were to serve in the temple. This is followed by the usual imprecatory verse.

The record mentions the ruling king as Anantavarma-Rājarājadēva without giving any of his imperial titles. Since the inscription refers itself to his first regnal year and to Śaka 1119 (1197 A.D.) the king can be identified with Rājarāja III of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty.[3] This is the first record to mention both his initial regnal year and the Śaka year 1119. It was hitherto presumed that he ascended the throne either in Śaka 1117 (1195 A.D.)[4] or Śaka 1120 (1198 A.D.).[5] Our record sets right the controversy by showing that he ascended the throne some time in Saka 1119, *i.e.*, either in 1196 or 1197 A.D. thus ruling out the possibility of either 1195 A.D. or 1198 A.D. being the year of his accession.

The geographical names mentioned in the epigraph and their probable identification are tabulated below:

Name as it occurs in the epigraph	*Probable identification*
1 Maṟutoḍti	Maḍuturru, the findspot of the inscription
2 Madhuḍi	Madhupām, Chipurupalle Taluk, Visakhapatnam District.

1 The term *jyā* indicates a 'string' and *āvaja* connotes a *tāla* instrument; thus the whole combination may refer to a *tāla* having a string and provision for *tāla*.

2 See C.P. Brown, *Telugu-English Dictionary* (1852), p. 545 where the word *panna* is given as meaning 'a servant'.

3 K.V. Subrahmanya Iyer, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, Vol. II, pp. 171 ff.

4 This is because the Śrīkūrmam inscription dated Śaka 1128 furnishes his 11th regnal year. *SII.*, Vol. V, No. 1317.

4 Vide *JASB.*, Vol. LXXII, p. 117.

	Name as it occurs in the epigraph	Probable identification
3	Chimpurupalli	Chipurupalle, Chipurupalle Taluk, Visakhapatnam District.
4	Kōḍūru	Kōḍūru, Do.
5	Golavaḍi	Gullipāḍu, Sarvasiddhi Taluk, Visakhapatnam District.
6	Ḍoppapalli	Ḍopperla, Do.
7	Ḍōsūru	Dōsalapāḍu-agrahāram, Do.
8	Mā[ru]ṭūru	Māruṭūru, Do.
9	Gaḍārapaṭṭu	Not identifiable
10	Tāmaraacheruvu	Do.
11	Paṁḍivāḍa	Do.

TEXT[1]

First face

1 Svasti [||*] śri-Śaka-varshaṁbulu 11[1]9

2 nēṁṭi śrimad=Anantavarmma-Ra(Rā)jarājadē-

3 vara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁ[va]-

4 tsaraṁbulu 1 | Śrāhi Kanya(nyā)-māsa śukla 11

5 [lu] Māṁ (Maṁ)ggala-vārmunaṁ Gaḍārapaṭṭa Gaṁggā[dha]-

6 [ra] seṭṭi koḍku Gaṇḍa[si] ṁggaṁuvāri vaṁśa

7 Malliseṭṭi Malliseṭṭi koḍku Settamaseṭṭi

8 [Se] ttamaseṭṭi koḍku Prōliseṭṭi Pōti-

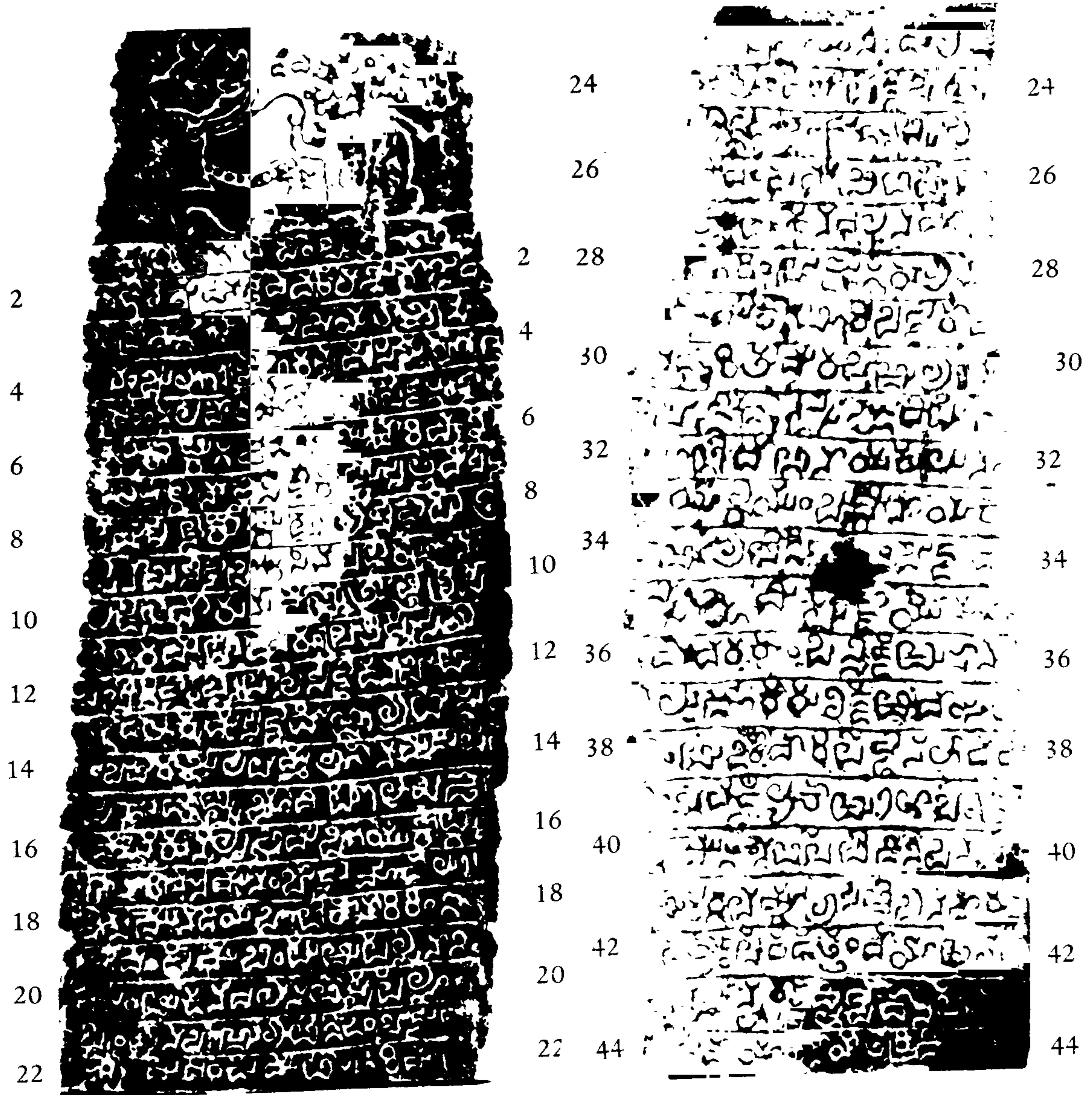
9 [se] ṭṭi Vāmiseṭṭi berasina seṭṭikārā[nu] -

10 la oṭṭivārunu Marutoḍti śrī-Ch[ō]-

11 ḍīśvara-maha(hā)dēvaraṁ bratishṭa(shṭha) sēyiṁ[chi]

1 From inked impressions.

MADUTURRU INSCRIPTION OF RĀJARJĀDĒVA (III), ŚAKA 1119, YEAR 1



K V Ramesh SCALE : ONE-SIXTH

12 guḍi gaṭṭiṁchchi Prōliseṭṭi dana cher̤u[vu]

13 ḍiggiṭa Akkamaseṭṭi cher̤uvu ḍigguṭa

14 [U]mbaḍirājula dhammuvugā[na](nu) Ma[dhu]ḍi-ū-

15 riṁ beṭṭu uṁḍḍu-bhūmi pu 2 [|*] akhaṇḍa-[di]-

16 [pa]munaku Nalla-Bhimabōyu kodku [Chō]-

17 [ḍi]kōnāri vasamunam beṭṭu māḍālu 2[5]

18 dīpamu na[ḍa][pē*] yī Chōḍi-kōnārikiṁ Go[la]-

19 [va]ḍi paṁḍumu [||*] Chiṁpur̤upalli Nāgi-[nā]-

20 [ya]kuṁḍu dana ēlina Ḍoppapalliṁ[gro]-

21 ppiṁchchina cher̤uvu ḍiggiṭam beṭṭu . .

22 . bhūmi eṁdumu ḍōsūri mā.

Second side

23 [cheri] . . ṁ niṁdula ma-

24 . . luṁḍi[yu] Peddacher̤u[vu*]

25 ḍiggiṭam be[ṭṭu unna] nīra-[bhū]-

26 mi eṁdumu Biḍapa-nā[ya]-

27 kuṁḍu dana ēl[i]na Mā[ru]-

28 ṭūriṁ beṭṭu garuvu pa[ṁ]-

29 dumu Kōḍūri Baṭṭirāju

30 [nichchi] Tāmaracher̤uvu ḍi[ggi]-

31 [ṭa] beṭṭi[na[1] oṁ]ḍḍu-bhūmi pu 1

32 Paṁḍiv[a]ḍa nāyakulu na.

33 la yēlkiyuṁ Ba[mmi]-nāyaku-

34 cher̤uvu ḍiggiṭam beṭṭu uṁ-

35 ḍḍu-bhūmi puṭṭiyunu [||*]

36 dēvarakuṁ banniddar̤u sānu-

37 lu mokarul=iddar̤u vāṁsakā-

38 kā[2] ṁḍu jyāvāri peṭṭina āvaja-

39 kāṁḍu maddalyakār̤u 2 ā-chaṁdrā-

40 rkkamugaṁ naḍapeḍi[di*] dīni bannaṁkā-

41 r̤u 4[||*] ī dharmmuvu ser̤ichinavāru Sva-

42 dattāḥ (ttāṁ) paradattaṁ(ttāṁ) vā yō a(ha)rēti(ta)

43 vasundharāṁ(rāṁ) [|*] sha[3]shṭir=varsha-sahāsrāṇi

44 vishṭayām jāyatē krimi[ḥ ||]

45 [4]dēva[ra] kuṁbhaka

46 . na kuṁḍḍu

---

1 The letter *na* is engraved in smaller size.

2 The letter *kā* is redundant.

3 The letter *sha* is engraved below the *anusvāra*.

4 Lines 45-46 are engraved on the top of the first face above the *nandi* figure.

NO. 26– URUSUKONḌA SIDDHA KĀVYA INSCRIPTION

(*3 Plates*)

V.S. Subrahmanyam, Mysore

The inscription[1] edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore is engraved on a huge boulder at the top of a hillock called **Urusuguṭṭa** situated about two miles south east of the Warangal railway station in Andhra Pradesh. The engraver has prepared the surface of the rock into a large rectangular panel and engraved the inscription in three sections measuring 155x200 cms, 115x200 cms and 120x200 cms respectively, leaving a gap of about 5 cms at the top and 3 cms at the bottom for each section. The inscription has been published in the Andhra Pradesh Government Epigraphy Series[2] by Shri P.V. Parabrahma Sastri. Since the inscription has not yet been edited properly, the same is being re-edited with a revised text and translation.[3]

The text consists of 154 lines engraved in the three sections of the rock. The first section contains 48 lines while the second section has 52 lines. The last section consists of 54 lines. But for a major portion of the text in line 1 which is in **Nāgarī** the **characters** employed **are Telugu of the 13th century** and they can be compared with those of the Hanumakoṇḍa *Nirōshṭhya Kāvya* inscription.[4] The **language** is **Sanskrit**, and excepting the last two lines, the entire text is in verse.

The scribe started engraving the text first in **Nāgarī** and then, for reasons not known, switched over to **Telugu characters** even before completing the first line.

This inscription is a *laghu-kāvya* containing 62 verses. Verses 1 to 60 are in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre while verses 61 and 62 are in *Sragdharā*.

The poem has as its hero a Siddha-youth and his spouse as its heroine. Their names are nowhere given in the poem. It narrates the story of their separation caused by the magic of a yaksha and their final re-union. The story commences with the separation of a Siddha couple by a mischievous yaksha using his supernatural power while they were sporting on the banks of the river Ganges. The Siddha youth is surprised at the sudden disappearance of his spouse and, stricken by unbearable sorrow, helplessly wanders

1. Noticed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 128.
2. No. 2 *Siddhōdvāha of Nṛisiṁha.*
3. I am thankful to Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer and Shri B. Sitaraman for their suggestions.
4. Above, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 209 ff.

hither and thither with a heavy heart. Unable to find solace anywhere, he remembers his beloved and recollects, as a flashback, the story of his love with her from the very beginning. The poet identifies himself with the hero and through him the story is recounted in retrospect. This style of narration is known as *Kavi-nibaddha-vaktṛi-prauḍhōkti-siddha.* Here the poet has delineated beautifully the *vipralambha-śṛiṅgāra.* One evening, during a music concert of the Kinnaras on the Mēru mountain, the hero chances for the first time to see the heroine, in the company of her maids. Love develops between them at first sight. The poet draws a graphic account of how both of them were affected by cupid. The lady's attendants soon come to know of this. Meanwhile, the lady is summoned by a boy. She is in a fix. She does not want either to leave her lover or disobey the instructions brought by the boy. The boy repeatedly prods her to go with him. With a heavy heart, she finally leaves the place and goes to her mansion.

Meanwhile the sun sets and the moon rises in all its glory. The poet is at his best in his description of nature. While describing the rising moon he draws an enthralling picture of the advent of night. At that time, a lady messenger comes to the hero and furnishes him with a touching account of the pangs of separation being undergone by the heroine. Here the poet delineates the various stages of *vipralambha-śṛiṅgāra* while describing the different stages of the heroine's *viraha.* The hero in turn gives her a message. The lady messenger goes and comes again on the next day with a message from the heroine. The heroine through her message requests the hero to come to the palace at mid-night and climb up the upper storey stealthily by means of a rope which would be kept hanging ready for the purpose. The hero acts accordingly. But alas! he is caught red handed midway while climbing up the upper storey of the palace by the security staff. He is soon produced before the heroine's father Kanakāṅgada who imprisons him in a remote room in his own palace. Some days pass and fortune starts smiling on the hero. Kanakāṅgada comes to know of the noble lineage of the hero and decides to give his daughter in marriage to him. On an auspicious day, the marriage is celebrated in all regal splendour. The hero and heroine spend their days happily in each other's company. The poet while describing the amorous sports of the couple effectively brings into play the *Sambhōga-śṛiṅgāra.* Just then the separation caused by the yaksha's prank occurs. Both of them undergo untold misery. The yaksha seeing their pitiable condition withdraws the magic spell and the couple are reunited. Thus the poem ends on a happy note.

A critical study of the poem reveals the fact that its author is a poet of great order. His descriptions especially of the objects of nature are beautiful and realistic. The skilful and artistic blending of various *alaṁkāras* greatly enhances the appeal of his poem. He has used such *alaṁkāras* as *upamā, udātta, utprēkshā, samāsōkti, sahōkti,* etc. in this composition. He is good in the use of longer metres like *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *Sragdharā.*

At the end of the inscription in the prose passage is mentioned the name of the poet. His name is given there as Narasiṁharshi and he is described as the son of Viśvēśvara. This Narasiṁha is no doubt identical with his namesake credited with the composition of the *Nirōshṭhya-kāvya* referred to above.

TEXT[1]

First Panel

1 Kaśchit=Siddha-yuvā samaṁ dayitayā traisrōtasē saikā[2]tē rāg-āṁdhō rama-

2 māṇa ēva likhitē kāraṁḍavānāṁ padaiḥ | drashṭuṁ durvvishahāṁ manōbhava-kṛitāṁ tāṁ tām=ava-

3 sthāṁ tayā viślēshaṁ gamitaḥ kutūhalavatā yakshēṇa māyāvinā | 1[3] | Śayyāyām=avilōkya sa

4 priyatamāṁ daṁbhōlin=ēv=āhatō bibhrāṇaḥ patad-aśruṇī kisalay-ātāmr-ōdarē lōchanē | aṁsa-nyasta[4]-śirāḥ śa-

5 nair=upachita-śvāsō vivarn-ānanas=tūshṇīm=ēva kam=apy=anēhasam=avijñāy=aiva tasthau jaḍaḥ | 2 | Bōdhaṁ prāpya cha pāthasā-

6 m=iva nidhau magn-ōtthitasa(s=ta)t-kshaṇād=vikshipy=āgra-nakhēna bāshpa-kaṇikaḥ pakshm-āvalī-guṁpi(phi)tāḥ | vyādhēn=ākulitāḥ kuraṁga-

7 ka iv=ākrāmtaḥ sa chētō-bhuvā dirghāṁ dikshu driśaṁ sasaraja tuhina-klishṭ-āraviṁd-ōpamāṁ(māṁ) | 3 | Trisrōtō ja-

8 lam=achchham=ātta-rajasō rōdhō-latā-maṁjarīr=haṁsān=maṁju-rutān sthalāmbu[5]ja-vanaṁ sparśā sah-āṁtar-ddalaṁ(laṁ) |

9 pushp-āsvāda-kashāyi-kaṁṭhaṁ=alināṁ brimdaṁ cha dṛishṭv=ōtsukō vākyāny=ēvam=uvācha lakshya-rahitaṁ pūrvv-ā-

---

1. From ink impression.

2 The engraver commences the writing in Nāgarī characters upto this portion. For some unknown reason he dropped the idea and commenced the same in Telugu characters in the next line.

3. This and the following numerals are engraved in Telugu characters.

4. This *sta* is engraved below the line.

5. The letter *bu* is engraved below the line.

10 nubhūtē[h*] smaran[1] | 4 | Mērau Kalpa-tarōḥ prasūna-madhunā mṛishṭēna siktē talē sāyaṁ kiṁnara-yōshitāṁ rasa-vaśād=gīta-

11 prasaṁgē sati | āyāt=āsi samaṁ sakhībhir=atha tē ya [lla]bdham-ālōkitaṁ bālē prāthamikaṁ tad= ētād-adhunā='py=ā-

12 likhyatē chētasi | 5 | Hastābhyā ∪∪–∪∪∪– [kṛi] shṭ-āṁgulibhyāṁ tadā sakhyā gaṁḍa-vimṛishṭa-patra-tilakaṁ

13 tatr=aiva kṛitvā mukhaṁ(kham) | vāsaḥ sraṁsana-sāmi-lakshita-kuch-ōdbhēdān= naman-madhyamaṁ pādaśy=ōpari [ra][2]kta-pārshṇi-vilaga-

14 t-pādaṁ tvayā hi sthitaṁ(tam) | 6 | Svair-ō[kū] lita-sauhṛidēna hṛidayēn-ā[nē*]-kaśaḥ prēritair=anyōny=ābhimukhair=gat-āgata-śataiḥ

15 śaṁsaṁti bhāva-sthitiṁ(tim) | lajjā-kauta(tu)kayōr =vvaśaṁvadatayā nānā-kramēṇ= ābhavaṁ(va)nā(nn=ā)saṁnēna sakhī-janēna viditā-

16 ny=ālōkitāny=āvayōḥ | 7 | Ākūtēna virōpita-bhru(bhṛi)sa(śa)-rasaṁ sakhyā kay=āpi smitaṁ ta[d*] jñātvā chaturē ta(tva)yā mama mu-

17 khād=ākṛishya yatnād=iva | vrīḍā-viklaba-tārakā-gati-rushā kiṁchit=kashāy-ōdaraṁ tasyāṁ pātitam-īkshaṇaṁ

18 yad=abhaval=līl-āraviṁd-ahātiḥ | 8 | Tad=dṛishṭvā mayi maṁdahāsa-sugam-ōtpraśam samālōkayaty=āsīr=nna-

19 mra-mukhī taraṁga-marutē kshipt=ēva rājīvinī | kāryy-āsaṁgam=upēyushī=va cha tataḥ(tas)=tiryyag=dadhānā mukhaṁ[3]

20 svachchhaṁda-prasaraṁ tvayā sunayanē bhūyō=' pi muktā dru(dṛi)śaḥ | 9 | Kālē tāvati kākapakshaka-mukhēn-ōṁna(nna)ddha-chū-

21 ḍāmaṇir=bibhran=mau[kti*] ka-kuṁḍalē śravaṇayōḥ kō=py=āgatō bālakaḥ | naksha-tra-dvaya-madhya-pāti śaśinō biṁbaṁ pur-Ōṁgā-

22 rakaṁ vyākurvvan valana-śriy=ēṁdu-vadanē tvām=āhvayat=saṁbhramāt | 10 | Āhvāṇē bahuśaḥ kṛitē sati ba[4]lāt=kṛishṭ-ēva dhṛitvā karē karshaṁ-

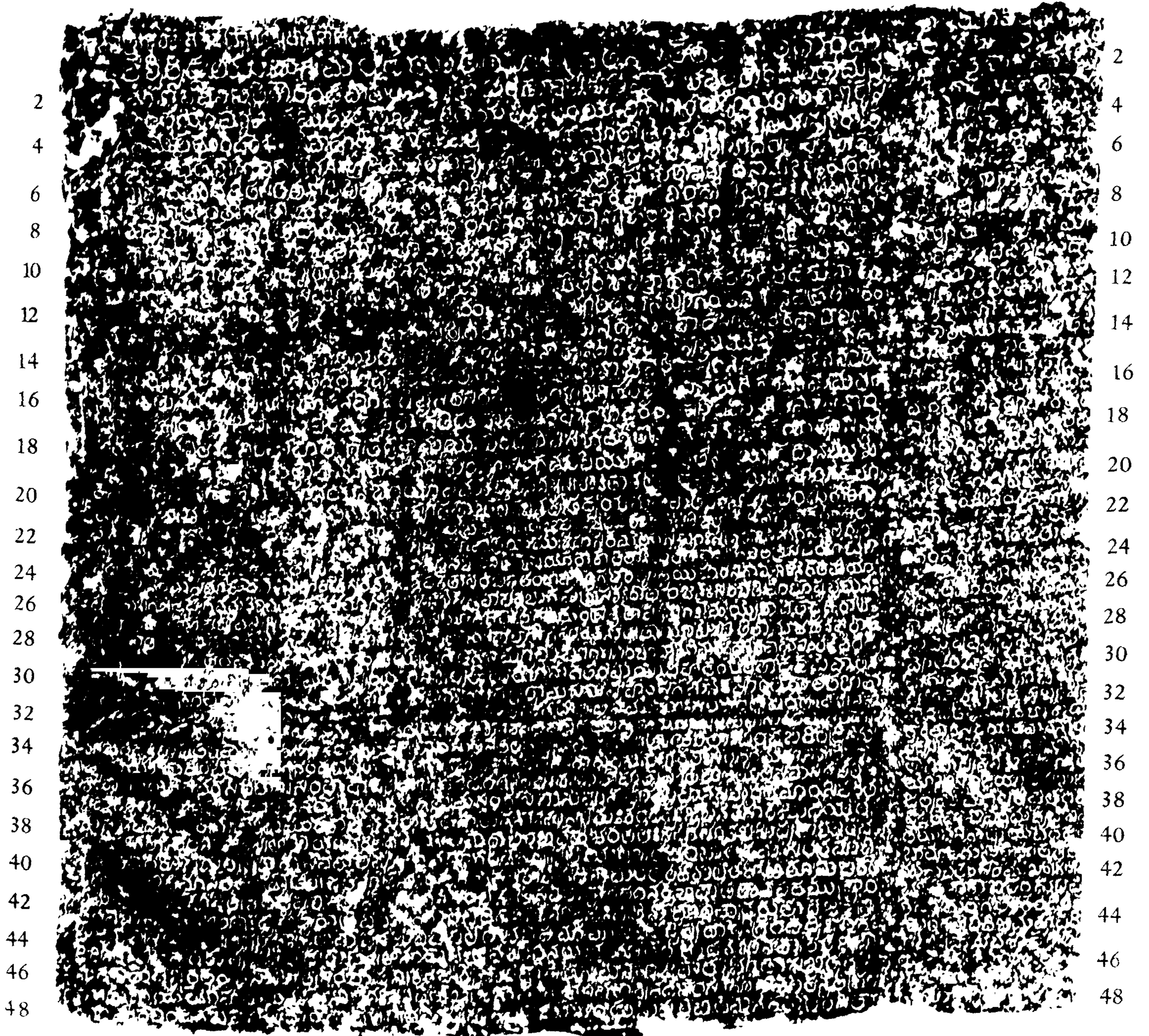
1. Cf. Pāṇini, 2-3-50.

2. The small type letter *ra* is inserted here.

3. *Anusvāra* mark is engraved at the next line which looks like letter *ka*.

4. This letter is first engraved as *ja* and then corrected into *ba*.

URUSUKONḌA SIDDHA KĀVYA INSCRIPTION – PLATE I



23 ty=utpala-patra-dāma-sadriśē sārddhaṁ may=aiv=ākshiṇī | aṁs-ōpāśraya-mukta-hasta-kamalaṁ sakhyāḥ sakhībhiḥ samaṁ saṁ[la] kshy-ā-

24 para-bhāgam=aṁchita-pada-nyāsaṁ tataḥ prasthitā | 11 | Vēṇī-vēshṭana-śālinī śrayaṇayōr=ārōpitāḥ kuṁtaḷaḥ kiṁchit srastatayā bhujau

25 na saraḷau nō vā samākuṁchitau | hārāḥ kēsara-kaḷpitaś=cha paratō laṁbī nitaṁbō ghanō gachchhaṁtyā[ṁ*] tvayi haṁsa-gāmini śanair=ētē mayā

26 lakshitāḥ | 12 | Udvign=ēva mṛigī vivartya vadanaṁ mārgē mṛiga-prēkshaṇī svasy=aiv-āpara-bhāgam=aśru-salilair=dhaut-āṁjanaiḥ siṁchatī | mām=āpṛichchhya punaḥ

27 punaḥ prahitayā sakhy=ēva su-snidha(gdha)yā dṛishṭya [vī] ta-manaskayā vishami-tair=ggaṁtuṁ pravṛita(ttā) padaiḥ | 13 | Mayy=ēv=ārpıta-dṛishṭir=āśri-

28 tavatī kāṁchit=sakhīm=aṁgakaiḥ bālē bāla-mṛiṇāla-kōmala-taraiḥ prāptā=[1] si gēh-āṁkaṇaṁ(ṇam) | tōy-aughē pratilōma-jāta-śaphar-ōt-

29 phāl=ēva[1] śaivālinī[2] tīrthaṁ vāri-nidhēr=mṛiśaṁty=ubhayatas=tīra-sthalīm-ūrmibhiḥ | 14 | Biṁbaṁ vāriṇi vāridhēr=adhigatā kaṁpaṁ[3] kaḷ-ēv=aiṁda-

30 vī rāg-ōnmēsha-viśēsha-śāli hṛidaya[ṁ*] mayy=arppayitvā nijaṁ(jam) | āday=ānu-gataṁ may=āpi hṛidayaṁ tādṛiksham=ēv=ātmanaḥ

31 kakshyāvat=sadanaṁ tadā vinimayaṁ kṛitv=ēva kāṁtē='viśaḥ | 15 | Paśchā[t*]=tvām=asamīkshya haṁsa-gamanē kakshy-āṁtar-āṁtarhitāṁ

32 slāghyaṁ vastu vināśya vismṛita iva prāptō vimōhaṁ paraṁ(ram) | svapnē dṛishṭam=iv=aitad=ātmani muhuḥ saṁchiṁtya chiṁtā-vaśō na sthā-

33 tuṁ na cha gaṁtum=anyad=api vā nō kartum=īśō='bhavaṁ(vam) | 16 | Tad-dēśō nava-ratna-chitritatala[4]-sparś-ānukūl-ānilō hālā hēma-sarō-ru-

34 h-ōdha(da)ra-daḷēshv=āpīta-śēsh=ālibhiḥ | gītaṁ kiṁnara-yōshitāṁ su-lalitaṁ kalpa drumāḥ pushpitā yātāḥ paṁchabhir=iṁdriyai-

---

1. Cf. *Āmuktamālyada*, Canto. 4, verse 18 *'Elamiyugāṁta-vāri'*.
2. The correct form is *Śaivālinī* (i.e. the river). This usage here is for the sake of the metre.
3. The *anusvāra* mark looks like *ra*.
4. The *visarga* is dropped here according to the *Vārttika* 4906:- *Kharparē śari vā visarga-lōpō vaktavyaḥ*.

35 =mmama yathāpūrvvaṁ na bhōgyāṁ daśāṁ(śām) | 17 | Kālē='smin haṭa-pāka-tapta-kanak-ākārēṇa lōlākṛitiḥ saṁdhyā-mēgha-nava-pravāḷa

36 śayanaṁ rāgī sam-āsēdivān | saṁtāpād=apar-ādri-kaṁdara-jharī-pāthaḥ-[ka*]ṇa(ṇai)r =āplutō. nētrē mīlayati sma Vāsara-pati[ḥ*]

37 padm-ākara-chchhadmanā | 18 | S-ārddhaṁ chētanayā samasta-jagatām=astaṁ-gatō Bhānumān[1] vyāmōhēna samaṁ tamāṁsi paritaḥ

38 kāshṭāḥ padaṁ chakrirē | vāmaiḥ kāmuka-lōchanaiḥ saha tatas=tārā-gaṇāḥ pusphuruḥ Kaṁdarppa-jvalanēna sākam=udayaṁ

39 yātaḥ kalānāṁ nidhiḥ | 19 | Ādau yāvaka-paṁka-pāṭalam=athō biṁbī-phal-ābhaṁ tataḥ sadyō-lūna-bahiḥ-palāśa-vikacha-

40 svarṇ-āraviṁd-ōpamaṁ(mam) | paśchād-āsava-matta-mālava-vadhū-gaṁḍa-sthala-prakriyaṁ biṁbaṁ Chāṁdramasaṁ kramād-vi-

41 rahiṇa(ṇō) vaktr-ōpamānaṁ dadhau | 20 | Jātē nūtana-chaṁdrikā-rasa-śirā-vēdhē[2] diśām=aṁtarē vēl-ōllaṁghibhir=ūrmibhi[ḥ*] kala-

42 śa-vārāśēr=iva kshāḷitē | Śvēta-dvīpa iva kshaṇēna bhuvanē saṁlakshitē sarvatō dhvāṁtaṁ na kvachid=ātatāna padam=udbhrāṁ-

43 taṁ vinā mē manaḥ | 21 | Dvaṁdvai[3] rātri-viyōginām. vidhi-vaśad=anyādṛiśaiḥ patriṇām=āślēshad=garutōr=ajasra-

44 ghaṭanā-viśrambhinaḥ prachyutaiḥ |.āvābhyām=iva vipralaṁbha-vishamām=āsēdiva-dbhir=vyathāṁ kraṁdadbhiḥ Sura-

45 dīrghikā-parisarē kā='py=ānaśē dur-daśā | 22 | Ānaṁd-āmṛita-varshiṇī nayanayōr= aṁbōda-lēkhā navā yashṭiḥ sau-

46 hṛida-vīrudha[4]-sthiratayā sauhitya-saṁpādinī | Kaṁdarpp-ēshu-gavākshitasya manasō jīvātu-bhūtā sakhī tvatta[ḥ*]

---

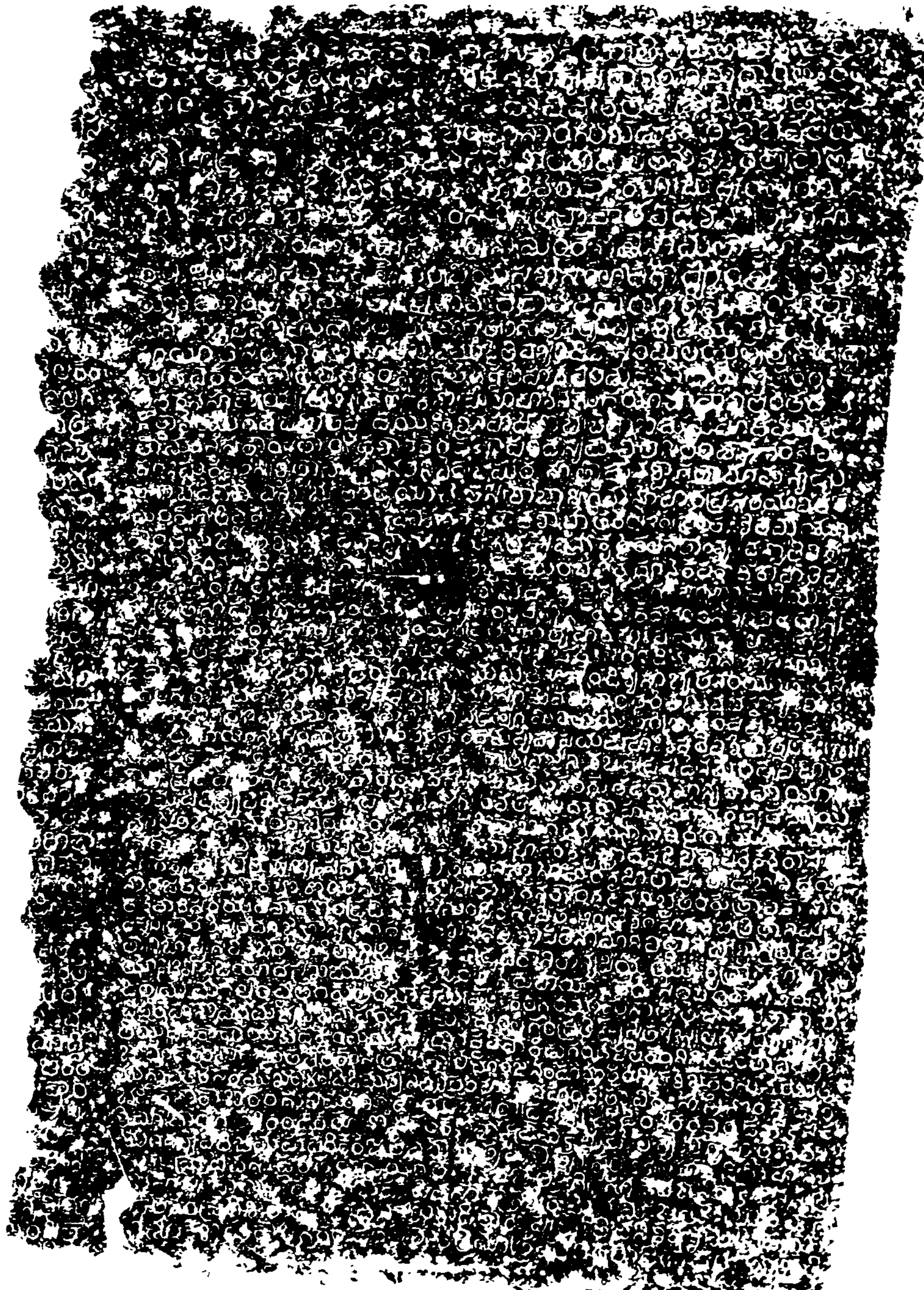
1. Cf. *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* : praśna 1, anuvāka 14, daśaka 64 – *Asau yō 'stam=ēti' Sa sarvēshām bhūtānām prāṇān=ādāy=āstam=ēti.*

2. The reading seems to be correct, but it won't give the required sense. Better read *'śirā-dhautē* or *śir-digdhē.*

3 The *visarga* is dropped here according to the 8-3-14 and 6-3-111.

4 The *visarga* is dropped here according to the *Vārttika* 4906 : *Kharparē śari vā visarga-lōpōvaktavyaḥ.*

URUSUKOṆḌA SIDDHA KĀVYA INSCRIPTION – PLATE II



47 kāchid=upāyayau mama punaḥ kshīṇ-ātmanaḥ saṁnnidhiṁ(dhim) | 23 | Jānān=ēva mam=āvalōkya vadanaṁ s-ākūtam=ātanvatī bhrū-

48 rēkhām=araviṁda-garbha-vichalad-bhruṁ(bhṛiṁ)g-āvaḷī-vibhramaṁ(anam) | sā smērēṇa mukh-ēṁdunā parichit=ēv=ānēka-kālaṁ sthitā

Second Panel

49 visraṁbh-ōttaram=ādadē giram=imām=āpādayitrīṁ dha(dhṛi)tēḥ | 24 | Āyā-

50 t=āsmi tav=āṁtikaṁ priya-sakhîm=ālōkya bhagnāśayā magn-āṁtaḥ-kara-

51 ṇa(ṇāṁ) tvad-ānana-ruchau lāvaṇya-siṁdhāv=iva | kartavyēshu vimūḍhatām=u-

52 pagatāṁ Kaṁdapa(rpa)-maghnāṁ sakhē baṁdhūnāṁ sukha-duḥkhayōr=bhavati ya-

53 sa(s=te)n=aiva hi prāṇyatē | 25 | Mugdhā-mugdha-mṛiṇāla-kōmala-tanus=tanvī kaṭhōr-ātmanaḥ

54 [śyēnāsy=ē]va śukī mṛig=īva mṛigayō[1] Rāhōr=iv=ēṁdōḥ kalā| pushyaṁtya(ti) mana-

55 sō rujām=ati-bhṛiśām=ajñāta-pūrvvaṁ(rvvāṁ) sakhē saṁprāptā tava darśanāt= prabha(bhṛi)[ti*] sā [chē*]-

56 tō-bhuvō gōcharaṁ(ram) | 26 | Prāsadē kshaṇam=aṁkaṇē kshaṇaṁ=atō līlā-sarasa (s=su)-

57 kshaṇaṁ krīḍā-parvvatakē kshaṇaṁ priya-sakhî-saṁlāpa-gōshṭhyāṁ kshaṇaṁ(ṇam) | śa-

58 yyāyāṁ kshaṇam=aṁtarē kshaṇam=atha dvār=vvēdikāyāṁ kshaṇaṁ sā tvā-

59 m=ēva vichinvat=īva bahudhā jāt-āratir=vvarttatē | 27 | Tishṭhaty=uchchalati prayāti punar=a-

60 py=āyāti saṁ-bhashatē tūshṇīṁ[2]-bhāvam=upaiti paśyati diśaḥ saṁmīlayaty=akshiṇī | udbhrā-

---

1. The *visarga* is dropped here according to the *sūtra Rō ri* (8-3-14) of Pāṇini.

2. The *anusvāra* is engraved above the line.

61 myaty=adhikaṁ dadhāti cha dhṛitiṁ niś-chēshṭatā chēshṭatā hā kashṭaṁ Madanēna dāruṇa taraṁ ki-

62 ṁ kiṁ na sā kāryyatē | 28 | Ity=ākarṇya halāhalēna sudhayā ch=āplāvitaṁ tad-vacha=

63 s=tat-kālē yugapad-gṛihīta-hṛidayaḥ klēśēna harshēṇa cha | chē[shṭā] bhir=mmama pūrvam=ēva kathi-

64 tām=unmastakāṁ tāṁ daśāṁ Kandarppāpaśadasya durvilasitaṁ ch=āśaṁsam=a-

65 syāḥ puraḥ | 29 | Śṛī(Śru)tvā mad-vachanaṁ nivēdya cha pura[ḥ*] s=ātō punaś=ch=āgatā mām=anyēdyu-

66 r=avōchad=ēvam=avinābhūtaṁ tvayā chētasi | vāchā snigdha-manōhara-prasarayā vīta-[kla]-

67 maṁ kurvvati vṛishṭyā vāri-dhar-āvaḷ=īva vivaśaṁ tṛishṇā-vaśāch=chātakaṁ(kam) | 30 | Prātaḥ śīta-mayūkha-

68 kāṁti-mṛijayā śūnyaṁ dadhānā vapur-mugdhair=lakshya-vinā-kṛitair=alasatāṁ vyāvṛiṇvatī vīksha-

69 ṇaiḥ | śvāsān=abhy-adhik-ōshmaṇā glapayatō daṁta-chchhadam=muṁchatī tvadhya (tvad-dhyā)n-aika-parā='dhirōhati pa-

70 rāṁ kōṭiṁ Smara-vyāpadaḥ | 31 | Drashṭavyaḥ katham=ēsha dṛishṭi-subhagaḥ saṁbhāshaṇīyaḥ ka-

71 thaṁ śrōtra-svādu-vachāḥ su-saṁhata-vapuḥ saṁślēshaṇīyaḥ kathaṁ(tham) | sāṁni(nni)dhy-āvidit-ānva-

72 vastu-vishayaḥ saṁ-sēvitavya[ḥ*] kathaṁ s=ētthaṁ tvāṁ pratichiṁ[taya*] ty=ahar-ahaḥ paryyākulā varttatē | 32 |

73 Supt-āṁtaḥpurikē niśītha-samayē gāḍhē tamōbhir=ghanair=bhittēḥ saṁnidhim=īhi nīla-vasanō nīchai[ḥ*]

74 padāni kshipan | rajva(jjvā) tvāṁ dṛiḍhayā nayēyam=iti sā saṁdiśya s-ābhyarta-(rttha)naṁ yātā tē sa-

75 vidhaṁ sarōja-vadanē bhriṁgī nalinyā iva | 33 | Yasyāmī(my=ē)vam=iv=āṁtar=ēvam=iva cha sthāsyāmi ta-

76 [syāḥ] purō vakshyāmy=ēvam=iv=āham=ēvam=iva cha drakshyāmi līlāyitaṁ(taṁ) | itthaṁ pakshmaḷitair=mmanō-

77 [ratha-śa]tair=bhūyō='nusaṁpātibhi[ḥ*] s-ōtkaṁṭhaḥ katham=apy=ahāpayam= ahaḥ-śēshaṁ viśēshōtsukaḥ | 34 |

78 Ā chaṁdr-āstamayaṁ kathaṁ katham=api sthitvā=| ['rdha]-rātrē vraja-ni(n=niḥ) śabdaṁ prapadēna maṁda-vihita-

79 śvāsaḥ pradīpā[t*] trasau | jihm-aikānta-pathas=tṛiṇē='pi chalitē śaṁkāṁ dadhānō= 'nyathā chhāyāṁ

80 svām=api vīkshya vēpita-vapu[ḥ] prāptaḥ śanaiś=chōra-vat [|*] 35 || Ardh-ārōha-ṇam=ācharaty=atha mayi

81 vyālaṁbamānāṁ kvachi[d*]=dhṛitvā rajjum=atarkit-ābhigamanaṁ nānā-vidhair= āyudhaiḥ vādyai-

82 r=dōrumayir=vvachōbhir=[uchitair=uchchaiḥ-kvaṇat-kāhaḷaṁ] kaiśchich=chhō-dhana-dīpikā-parikarair=āsaṁ[ma*?]

83 m=ārakshikaiḥ[1] | 36 | Tvat-sakhyā saha bhīru bhīta-manasā sō='haṁ gṛihītō haṭhād= ībhir= nishkaru-

84 ṇair=ajāta-karuṇam chōrō='yam=ity=arpitaḥ | pitrā tē Kanakāṁgad-eva nibhṛitaṁ kutr=āpi kōṇ-āṁ

85 tarē vāri-saṁyata-vāraṇ-ēṁdra-vidhinā svē maṁdirē sthāpitaḥ | 37 | Āśaṁsā-śata-chitritāni pu[na*]-

86 r=apy=udbhrāṁti-saṁmārjjitāny=ānaṁda-kshaṇa-śōchana-kshaṇa-pariṇāmāni vid-dhāni cha | śvāsair=mmarmmari-

87 tāni bāshpa-salilair=jaṁbāḷitāni priyē nirvēd-ādy-adhikāni kāny=api yayu[ḥ*] kṛi[ch*]chhrād=ahāny=āva-

88 yōḥ | 38 | Vijñāy=ātha sakhī-mukhēna sakalaṁ tais=tair=upāy-āṁtarai[ḥ*] saṁ-baṁdha-ōchitam=ābhi-

---

1 This and the next verse may be treated as *yugma*.

89 jātyam=amalaṁ vṛittaṁ kulaṁ ch=āpi-mē । muktaṁ saṁyamanāt=sa tē janayitā nāṇa-

90 vidhair=arhaṇa(ṇai)r=mmām=abhyarcha(rchya) vivāha-yōgyam=anaghaṁ lagnaṁ pratīkshya sthita[ḥ] । 39 । Lagnī samyag=upasthi-

91 tē yavanīk-āpāyē cha dṛishṭaṁ mayā lōdhr[1]-ōnmṛishṭa-vipāṁḍu gaṁḍa-phalakaṁ nirnikta-daṁt-āvaḷī । svā-

92 bhāvyād=aruṇ-ōshṭham=ātta-tilakaṁ nētr-ābhirām-āṁjanaṁ dūrv-ōttamsita-śēkharaṁ sumukhi tē

93 mugdh-āvataṁsaṁ anukhaṁ(kham) । 40 । Vēdī-madhya-nivēśitaṁ huta-vahaṁ kṛitvā vidhēḥ sākshiṇaṁ svēd-āṁ-

94 bhaḥ-kaṇikābhir=aṁguli-mukhād=vāṁtābhir=ārdras=tava । udbhiṁnai(dbhinnai)r=araviṁda-nāḷa-sadṛi-

95 śīṁ=ābhāṁ gataḥ kaṁṭakair=ūrṇā-kaṁkaṇavān pravāḷa-mṛidula-sparśō gṛihītaḥ karaḥ । 41 ।

96 Māṁgalyē vidhibhir=mahā-parikarair=jātē vivāhōtsavē s=autsukyaṁ taḷim-ādhirōhaṇa-

97 sukhē prāptē cha s-ārdhaṁ tvayā । yātās=tē nava-bhaṁgi-gūḍha-vachanair=āḷījanasya pri-

98 yair=hāsya-prāya-rasair=vivāha-divasā nānā-kramair=narmabhiḥ । 42 । Bālē vāsa-

99 nikētanaṁ prati balād=dhātrā(tryā) muhuś=chōditā kupyaṁt=īva niśamya mad-vishayi-

100 ṇīm=āḷībhir=uktāṁ giraṁ(ram) । utkaṁṭhām=ati-mātram=aṁtar=uditām=ābibhratī

Third Panel

101 viklabā lajjā-namra-mukhī chirāya bhavatī rā(dhā)trībhir=ānīyatē । 43 । Śayyā[yāṁ] vinivēśya nirgga-

---

1. Lōdhra is mentioned here for the lodhra flower dust. Cf. *Mēghasandēśa* of Kālidāsa, Canto 2, verse 2: *nītō lōdhra-prasava-rajasā pāṁḍutām=ānanē śrīḥ.*

102 tavatīr=dhātrīr=anu-prasthitām=āli tvāṁ rudatīm=api sthitavatī kāchin=nishidhya svayaṁ(yam) | āsannē ma-

103 yi tānni(tāṁ ni)shēddhum=api cha prāyaḥ priyē lajjitā tūshṇīm=ēva nivartit-ānanam=adhō dṛishṭir=nivishṭā-

104 kshaṇaṁ(ṇam) | 44 | Ābhāshē yadi sādhvasaṁ tava bhavēt=tū[shṇīṁ] yadi sthīyatē syād=ēv=āgaṇan=ēti

105 mūḍha-hṛi(hṛi)dayaḥ kiṁchid=vichiṁty=ātmani | tvat-sakhyā saha kāni kāny=api [va]chāṁsy=a-jñāta-nidrā-rasō hāsya-prā-

106 ya-kathā-prabaṁdha-sarasāny=ākhyātum=ārabdhavān | 45 | Tāvatvaṁ(t=tvaṁ) [cha] śanair=mmam-ānya-paratām=anvishya

107 saṁkōchitair=aṁgair=aṁśuka-vēshṭit-āvara purō-bhāgair=hriyā mi[śri]tā nidrā [ṇ=ē]va vimuchya nētra-kamalē tā-

108 s=tāḥ kathāḥ śru(śrī)ṇvatī śayy-āṁtaṁ bhuja-vallarī-vivalanē=āliṁgya jōshaṁ sthitā | 46 | Ēvaṁ pra-

109 ty-uras-ōpamarddita-manō-nirvvēśavatyaḥ sukhā nishparyyāya-manōrathā [nava-nav-ābhyā] [1] sā

110 bhaya-vyākulāḥ | lajjā-gaṁdhi-samasta-vastu-sarasā lajjāvati prāg=amus=tvat-sānnidhyam=ih=ābhimā-

111 na-suhṛidō bhuktā mayā rātrayaḥ | 47 | Ālīnām=ati-saṁbhramēṇa vimatau krīḍāsu [vā]-

112 jiśraṇair=vyāja-spṛishṭaka-kēḷibhiś=cha namanair=vēṇyā ślathāyā api | gumphair=hāra-guṇasya chitra-chaturais=sārdhaṁ tva-

113 yā matsarā[d]=visraṁbhas=tava bhīru kaśchana dinaiḥ kiṁchin=may=āsāditaḥ | 48 | Ētāsmin samayē niśaṁta-

114 bhavanād=vyājēna sakhyā bahir=niryyātē mama saṁṁ(nni)dhau su-nayanē pūrvv-ādhikaṁ bibhyatī | nirggaṁtuṁ[2]

---

1. These five letters are damaged here. This is restored by me.

2. The *anusvāra* sign is engraved in the next line.

115 tvaritā mayā kara-talēn=ālaṁbitā tvaṁ sthitā vāt-ōddhūta-nav-āraviṁda-sadṛiśau vyāpārayaṁ-

116 ti dṛiśau | 49 | Īshat=tvāṁ tanu-bhaṁgi-bōdhita-manās=tvaṁ kaṁchuḷī-karshaṇē prakrāṁtē='tha nakha-ksha-

117 tād=api bhayād=atyaṁtam=udvējitā | kāṁtē kēvalam=aṁgakaiḥ pulakibhi[ḥ*] kaṁṭh-ōkta-bhāva-sthi-

118 tir=bāshp-ōtpīḍa-[mishē*]ṇa mīlitavatī lajj-ākulē lōchanē | 50 | Sāchībhūta-mukh-āraviṁda-ghaṭanā yā-

119 vāt= kapōla-sthalē kastūrī makarī-vilāsa-haraṇaṁ sāṁmukhya-yōgāt=tava | maugdhyād=a-pratirōdha-[suṁ-

120 dara] m=api smaryēta yat=tat=tvayā hasta-svastika-jāta-rōdham=anati-vyāsaṁgam= āliṁganaṁ(nam) | 51

121 Nīvī-baṁdha-nivēśitē kara-ta[lē] nirvēśa-taṁdrā-vasād=īshan-mīlana-jāta-śārada-nadī-kārśy-ānukārē

122 dṛiśau | āsīt-tē sukha-pāravaśya-śithilaṁ tad-vāraṇē vyāpṛitō hastō hēma-mayūkha-mā-

123 li-kiraṇa spṛishṭa-pravāl-ōpamaḥ | 52 | Krīḍ-ānaṁtaraṁ=ātta-sādhvasatayā ni[śchē]shṭitair=aṁga-

124 kaiḥ kliśyant=īva kuchāni śuk-āvṛita-mukhī vāky-āsahaṁt=īva mē | maṁd-ōddhūta-daśāṁ-

125 chalēna sichayēn=ā-vījyamānā mayā lajjā-mīlita-lochan=ēva śanakair=nidrāṁ tva-

126 m=āsādayaḥ | 53 | Paryāyād=iva baddha-pa[ashma-hananaṁ] saṁmīlitē lōchanē

127 kā[lē] yaiḥ śrama-vāri-lēśa-lulitaiḥ[niṁ]n=āṁchatē kaṁdharā| srastē vāsasi lakshit-āṁ-[1]

128 ga-sushamā-bhēdaṁ cha tāṁ tāṁ vapus=tat=tādṛik-priya-saṁsthiti - ślatha-nij-āvasthā='pi cha sma-

---

1 The *anusvāra* sign is engraved in the next line.

URUSUKONDA SIDDHA KĀVYA INSCRIPTION — PLATE III

K V Ramesh SCALE : ONE-TWELFTH *Ep. Ind* Vol. XLI

129 ryyatē | 54 | Ālēpair=galitair=nitaṁbini dadhē nimna-sthalēsh=āsikā kaṁṭha[ḥ*] kaṁbu-nibhō madī-

130 yya(ya)-valayēn=āliṁga[1]nē mudritaḥ | gātraṁ tē parivarttanēna śayanē vāsas=taraṁg-āṁ-

131 kitaṁ kāṁtiḥ kāchana sāmi-mukta-jaḍimā nidr-āvasānē daśā | 55 | Mlānaṁ ch=āpi vikāsi ch=āpi va-

132 danaṁ vēṇī cha vēshṭa-ślathā bhālaś=cha śrama-vāri-mṛishṭa-tilakō hāsaś=cha saṁjā-(jñā)yatē | chhāyā kā='pi

133 cha lakshyatē nayanayōḥ saṁmōda-saṁsūchani bhukt=ās=iti sakhībhir=īrita-rahaḥ-kṛityā-

134 bhṛiśaṁ lajjitā | 56 | Jānīshē kimu kalpa-pādapa-bhavām=āpīya hālāṁ[2] tvayā krīḍaṁtyā

135 mama sannidhāv=api nijām=unmuchya mugdhē trapāṁ(pān) | yad-yaj=jalpita-mughda-jāta-ma-

136 dhurair=ālasyavadbhiḥ padair=aṁgair=vvā ślatha-saṁnivēśa-laghubhir=yad=yat=kṛitaṁ vyutkramā-

137 t | 57 | Praty-aṁgaṁ nava-chaṁpakēshv=iva rajō-māsṛīṇyam=unmīlitaṁ kāṁtir=nūtana-kaumu-

138 dī kuvalay-āpīt=ēva jātā dṛiśōḥ | hāsa-śrīr=mmukha-paṁkajē madhu-madam=ut-kūlit=ēv=ā

139 dhikaṁ vaidagdhyaṁ sphaṭikād=iv=ēṁdu-mukhi tē svāṁtād=a(d=ba)hir=biṁ-bitaṁ(tam) | 58 | Harmyaṁ hāri

140 khal=ūri(rmi)kā maṇimayī na(śa)yyā ni[3]rōmā-sa(s=ta)dā hān-ōtkūlana-mātra-lakshita-

---

1. The letter *ga* is inserted below the line.
2. The usage *hāla* is an indication that this poet himself was the composer of the *nirōshṭhya kāvya. cf:* Above, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 209 ff.
3. Read *nī* for *ni* which suits the metre.

141 nij-āvasthāna[m=ētan*]=mama | jātyam Chaṁdanam=aṁbarāṇi cha tanūnaj=ā (ny=u)-dhaṁ(dgaṁ)dhayō[1] māli-

142 kās=tāṁbūlī-dala-pūga-khaṁḍa-bharitaṁ pātraṁ cha naḥ prītayē | 59 | Gūḍhā bhūmi-

143 grihāḥ karaṁḍa-sushirā[d=vāṁ] tāś=cha dhūp-āṁkurās=tail-ōdgaṁdhi[2]śilāśa (l-āśma)dīpa-[la]tikā sthū-

144 laṁ cha tūl-āṁbaraṁ(ram) | kālēy-ēṁdhana-pāvakā cha śakadī kastūrikā-miśritaṁ tāṁbū-

145 laṁ nava-yauvan-ōsha(shma)la-kuchā tvaṁ cha priyē mē priyaṁ(yam)[3] | 60 | Dhār-ōdhā(dgā)ri-pranālī-mukha-

146 ra-kari-mā(mu)khaṁ bhūmikāva=cha(ch=cha) harmyaṁ ramy-aikāṁtā cha gōshī-(shṭhī) prachura-Malaharī-rā-

147 gam=ishaṁ(ishṭaṁ) cha gītaṁ(tam) | sū[kshmaṁ] ślakshṇaṁ cha vāsas=taruṇima-bhidur-odvṛitta-vakshōja-kuṁ-

148 bhā sv-ēchchhā-bhōga-kshamā cha ta(tva)m=ati-sumukhi mē k=āpi varshāsu rītiḥ | 61 | Bhō-

149 gān=ēvaṁ-prakārān=muhur=anubhavatō haṁta mē viprayōgō jātaḥ kasmād= idānīṁ

150 tava [su]tanu haṭhād=ity=amushmin=bri(bru)vāṇē | yakshaḥ saṁdarśya rūhaṁ-(paṁ) taṭi(di)d-udaya-

151 m=iva svaṁ vihāy=āpi māyām=ētābhyāṁ daṁpatibhyāṁ sahṛidaya[m=adu]-

152 dhād=āśishaṁ pūrṇṇakāmāṁ(mām) | 62 |

1. Cf. Pāṇini sūtra : *Gandhasy=ēt-ut-pūti-su-surabhibhyaḥ.*

2. There is a mark which looks like a cipher above the letter *la* which may be ignored.

3. Cf. . Bhartrihari's *Śṛiṅgāra śataka*, verse 92:

Taruṇī ch=aishā dīpita-kāma
vikasita-jātī-pushpa-sugandhiḥ |
Unnata-pīna-payōdhara-bhārā
prāvṛishi kurutē kasya na harsham ||

153 Viśveśvara-sūnē[r*] = Narasiṁha-

154 ṛshēḥ kṛitiḥ [||*]

TRANSLATION

Verse 1

A Siddha youth, overcome with passion, was in an amourous dalliance, with his beloved on the sand dunes of the river Ganges, where the marks of duck's claws are seen and while he was happy thus, he was separated from his beloved out of curiosity by a yaksha capable of magic.

Verse 2

Not having seen his most beloved next to him in the bed, he became stunned as if struck by a thunder-bolt; the interior of his eyes became slightly reddish like the tender leaf-sprouts with tears flowing, and his head drooped to his side to rest on his shoulder. His breathing became slow, the colour of his face changed and he without knowing what to do kept still and silent for a while losing his consciousness.

Verse 3

At that moment, he came to his senses, like the person who surfaces after diving in the ocean and wiped with the edges of his finger-nails the drops of tears that (are collected and) appear to have been strung in between the hairs that are in a row in the eyelids. He, feeling miserable like the deer distressed by the hunter, overcame by Cupid and with eyes (swollen and with drops) like the lotus faded by the snow, directed his far reaching sight on all four sides.

Verse 4

(Then) having seen the crystal clear water of the river Ganges, the blossoms in the creepers on the banks that emit the pollen dust, the swans that cackle melodiously, the bushes of roses whose inner petals wither on being touched (by hand) and the swarm of bees whose throats sweetened on account of their feeding on the honey from the flowers, he became agitated and with no one (nearby), reminiscing over his past experiences, he muttered to himself the following:

Verse 5

"O Young One ! My first sight of you beneath the *kalpa* tree in Mount Mēru, where the ground was sprinkled with purified flower-honey and where the Kinnara damsels, in the evening were singing passionately, you came there with your companions, that (sight) appears to be engraved in my heart even now.

Verse 6

(The tassel end of your saree being held and pulled with her two hands and fingers by your companion), you looked with your *patra tilaka* on your cheeks erased, your protruding breasts half revealed by the sliding of your cloth, your waist bending slightly and you stood with one foot on which the heel of the other foot coloured red rested.

Verse 7

Our sights, induced by the heart, filled with spontaneous love that broke the barriers wantonly, mutually dashing against each other and passing hundreds of times in between, telling the inclinations of the feelings of the heart, due to subjection to bashfulness and eagerness turned in different modes, and were understood by the companions close by.

Verse 8

One of these (companions) looked with raised eye-brows and with full of intention smiled meaningfully. You, clever one, however, noted this and dragged away your look from my face as though with great effort and with your eye balls whose movement were obstructed by bashfulness and agitation and consequently reddened inside made them follow her as though beating her with roy lotuses.

Verse 9

While I was smiling on seeing this, you bowed down your head like the lotus in the pond, caught in the gentle breeze from the waves. O good-eyed One! Then, as if you are engrossed in something, you turned your face sideways and you directed your uninterrupted looks at me.

Verse 10

At that time a young lad, having a face with side-locks and crest-jewel tied on the top of his knotted-hair and wearing pearl ear-ornaments that seemed to suggest the

moon, embedded between two stars, and adorned on the top by Mars, came hurriedly and called you.

Verse 11

When calls were made many a time, you removed your lotus-like hands, that were resting on the shoulder of your mate, as if you are pulled forcibly by the arm and you dragged away your eyes that were like a garland of blue lotus petals, along with me and started from that place making your backside quite visible and walked in slow paces.

Verse 12

O! One with the gait of swan! While you were going, the following were gradually observed by me : Oh! One who is in the habit of braiding the tresses, you raised your curly hair and placed them over the ears. Your hands were neither straight nor bent; because of their loose dangling, the garland of *bakula* flowers hanged from behind and the buttocks were heavy.

Verse 13

O! One with the looks of a deer! On the way, you turned your face like the shuddering deer and drenched your own back with the tears containing the collyrium that has been washed away; you left me with your sight (that appeared) like the most affectionate mate (as though) sent by you for taking leave of me, again and again, and out of a broken heart, started moving from that place with flattering strides

Verse 14

O! Young One! With her sight directed towards me and slender limbs, as soft as the tender fibre of the lotus, that are leaning on some mate, you reached the front-yard of your house like the leaping fish cutting across the current in the river, whose banks are touched by the waves while entering the ocean.

Verse 15

O! Dear One! Like the trembling reflection of the creascent-moon on the surface of the ocean, you entered the roomed-mansion after making an exchange of your heart glowing with growing passion, that was really dedicated to me, with my heart, identical with yours, that had followed you and which you took away.

Verse 16

O! Swan-gainted one! After you disappeared into one of the rooms, not being able to see you, I became highly perplexed like the man, who had lost a precious object and became forgetful about it, then, as if seeing it in a dream afterwards, I turned worried by frequently repenting over it and I could neither stay there, nor move away nor do anything else.

Verse 17

The place that is decorated with nine precious gems, the wind that touches gently, the honey that is left over in the petals inside golden lotuses after having been drunk by the bees, the melodious music of the *kinnara* damsels and the blossomed *kalpa* trees could not be enjoyed as they were before, by my five senses.

Verse 18

At this juncture, the red Sun moved down to set like the glittering molten hot gold in a hot oven and he like a love striken person due to heat seemed to lie down on the couch of the twilight cloud made of the tender sprouts and shut his eyes like the closed lotuses in the lotus pond, after taking bath in the particles of water flushing out of the caves of the western mountains.

Verse 19

The sun had set along with the consciousness of all the beings on the earth; darkness, along with confusion, stepped into the four directions; afterwards, multitudes of stars began to twinkle along with the crooked eyes of the lustful; the moon also arose along with Cupid's fire (of passion).

Verse 20

The orb of the moon was reddish like the paste of red-lac in the beginning; then like the hue of the *bimba* fruit; afterwards, like the *palāśa* bud plucked just then; thereafter like the blossomed golden lotus; afterwards, similar to the cheeks of the Mālava lady, who is intoxicated by wine. Thus gradually, it became (pale in colour) comparable to the face of a person who is separated from his beloved.

Verse 21

When all the directions were smeared with the white solution of the moon-light juice (and) were washed by water from the rising waves of the pot like ocean that

trespasses the shore, when in a moment the entire world on all sides appeared like a white island, the darkness was not able to find a place anywhere except in any distressed mind.

Verse 22

Just then some misfortune took place for many a pair of peculiar birds, that are separated during the night by fate, that have slipped from the belief of everlasting inseparation (created) on account of their intimate contact with each other through their beaks, and which crying near the celestial Ganges reached the unbearable stage of the pangs of separation similar to that of ours.

Verse 23

A companion came towards me from your side who was like the fresh streak of lightning pouring the blissful nectar into the eyes, the pole of ever lasting support to the creeper of friendship and a life giving herb to the mind which has been pierced like a lattice by the piercing of the arrows of Cupid and which has been wrecked.

Verse 24

Looking at my face, as if quite familiar to me, she twitched her eye-brows that were like the row of large black bees which move around the centre of the lotus, and with a smiling face, as if acquainted, she remained there for a long time. After getting some confidence she spoke the following words that would infuse strength (to me).

Verse 25

"O Friend! I have reached your side after seeing my dear mate whose mind is immersed in the countenance of your face which is like the ocean of loveliness, who does not know what to do and who has become a slave of Cupid. If at all, she is alive, it is because of yourself, in whom lies the happiness or misery of (her) relatives".

Verse 26

"Friend! She, who is innocent, whose charming body is like the tender lotus-stalk, who is slender and who, ever since having seen you, is developing the feelings of hitherto unknown pangs of love, has fallen within the range (of the hold) of the merciless Cupid like the female parrot to the hawk, the female deer to the hunter and the cresent-moon to Rāhu.

Verse 27

"As if always contemplating on yourself, (spending) a moment in the terrace and a moment in the courtyard, afterwards a moment in the sporting-pool, a moment in the play-hill, a moment with the group of dear conversing-mates, a moment in bed, a moment inside (the house), a moment in the portico, she is possessed by desire".

Verse 28

"She stands; jumps, walks; comes back; talks; remains silent: sees the quarters; closes both the eyes; gets highly excited; gains courage; becomes inactive; becomes active. Alas! how into which state of cruelty she was not made to fall into, by Cupid?"

Verse 29

Having heard these words that were soaked in the divine poison and ambrosia, and having become one whose heart is filled with happiness and sadness simultaneously I described to the mate the misdeeds of stupid Cupid that went beyond the limit which however were also understood (by you) from my activities even before my telling.

Verse 30

After hearing me, and conveying the same to you, the mate returned the next day from there and spoke to me, whose mind is engrossed in continuous thoughts of yourself the following words that were smooth and pleasant and which removed my sufferings like the shower of rain from the multitude of clouds to the *chātaka* bird suffering from thirst.

Verse 31

She is bearing her paled body which is like the lustreless morning-moon; by her looks that appear innocent and aimless she exhibits her indolence; she breathes very hot air that makes her lower lip dry; thinking only about yourself she has reached the ultimate dangerous stage caused by Cupid.

Verse 32

How to see this one who is good-looking, how to speak to this one whose words are pleasant to the ears, how to embrace this one whose body is well-built, how to serve this one who does not know anyone (except myself), thinking thus about you, she, your love, remains confused every day.

Verse 33

"While the harem is asleep during the night, when thick darkness is pervading, wearing dark clothes and taking slow steps, come near the wall-side; there I will lead you with a strong rope." After conveying these words to me with a humble request, O! lotus faced one! she started from my side towards you, like the bee for the lotus-pond.

Verse 34

I will go like this; inside, I will stand like this in front of her; I will speak like this; I will see her with looks that are sportive." Thus, owing to hundreds of long, frequent and upsurging desires I spent with anxiety the remaining day time longing for the coming event.

Verse 35

Remaining with great effort till the moon sets during mid-night, moving silently by the tip of the toes, breathing mildly, afraid of lights, moving cross-wise, suspecting otherwise when even the grass waved, bodily shivering even after seeing my own shadow, I reached (there) slowly like a thief.

Verses 36-37

Afterwards, snatching a rope that hung from somewhere, while I was climbing half-way, I was caught along with your mate, whose mind was full of fear, O timid One!, by these unkind policemen, who, making clamour with various kinds of weapons, wooden musical instruments, words befitting their status and search lights in their hands, and whom I had not anticipated, forcibly caught me and handed me over to your father telling "this is the thief". I was put, like a male elephant (put) in the stable, by your father Kanakāṅgada in some corner of his house.

Verse 38

Dear One! Some days passed for both of us with great difficulty, which, were long ones because of frustration, were mudded with tears, were replete with the murmuring sounds of breathing, were piercing ones, were transformed into ones of momentary joy and sorrow, were filled with hundreds of thoughts and then again were swept away by illusion.

Verse 39

Your father having learnt, by other means through the mates, everything about me viz., the noble birth qualifying for relationship, pure character and lineage, presented me different objects after being freed from bondage, considering me inpeccable in character as suitable for marriage, and was expecting the time at which it will take place.

Verse 40

When the auspicious time arrived and also when the curtain was removed O good-faced one! I saw your face which had innocence as its embellishment, with the head decorated by the *dūrva* (panic) grass, with collyrium beautifying the eyes, with the forehead-mark, with lips having natural scarlet hue, with rows of teeth cleaned very well and with cheeks whitish with the dust of *lodhra* flower.

Verse 41

Having made the fire, kept in the midst of the altar, as the witness for the deeds, your hand, which is wet with the sweat dripping from the finger-tips, which is like the lotus-stalk due to the standing-out of hair-roots (because of horripulation) which is soft like the leaf-sprout, which is having a wollen-bracelet, was held by me.[1]

Verse 42

When the marriage took place with tumultuous celebrity, when the pleasure of sitting on the (decorated) platform along with you was obtained,[2] the marriage-days passed with novel, pleasing and jocular riddles and various games of your mates.

Verse 43

O young one! Often being forcibly induced by your foster mother to go to the residential mansion, remaining as if enraged over the words pertaining to me told by your mates but bearing the over-anxiety that kindled inside, and remaining agitated and lowering the head due to shyness, you were led away by step-mothers.

---

1. The practice of tying a wollen bracelet around the hand of the bride during marriage is even now prevalent in the Āndhra country.

2. *Taḷimadhurōhaṇa* is a function which takes place in the evenings after the marriage when the bride and bridegroom will sit together in a well decorated place with girls singing round.

Verse 44

Friend! When some lady attempted to stop you and make you stay while you started after the step-mothers, who have made you sit in one-half of the cot, you could not prevent her from doing so being overwhelmed by bashfulness due to my presence and you bowed your head and remained silent down.

Verse 45

Thinking that if I speak to you, you will become alarmed, and if I do not speak, you will think that I am disregarding you, not knowing what to do, I, with a confused heart, thought for some time and started conversing with your mates remaining unconscious of sleep. I began to narrate all and sundry words, which are funny and interesting with your mates.

Verse 46

Noting that I am engaged in something else, overcome with shyness, you covered your front and back parts that were made to contract with your cloth(and) closing your two eyes as if asleep. (and) listening to such of those stories (that I told), you remained silent and embraced the edge of the bed after turning your creeper-like arm.

Verse 47

Shy one! Thus these nights were enjoyed by me earlier like this; the ones, that were friendly because of the self-assurance (created) owing to your presence; in which all things were enjoyable due to their flavour of shyness; that were perturbed because of fear; that consisted of exercises that were always new; that had wishful and pleasant thoughts which had no sequence but were contributing to the happiness of the mind due to the union of the chests in embrace.

Verse 48

Timid one! In course of days your intimacy was attained by me by the excitement of the mates during misunderstandings in games, by horse play, by the game of false touch, by pulling down loose locks of hair, by stringing flowers and by skillful drawings out of competition.

Verse 49

At this juncture, when your mate went out of the house delusively, O good-eyed one! overcome with more fear than ever before in any presence, you started quickly

to move out; having been caught by me by the hand, you remained there directing the sight of your two eyes that were moving like the fresh lotuses blown by the wind.

Verse 50

I brought you to your sense by my gentle touch and when I pulled your corset, you became afraid of (your breasts) being wounded with my nails. O attractive one! expressing, as if through word of mouth your feelings rooted in the heart through the horripulations of your gentle parts, closed both your eyes that were filled with shyness, under the pretext of wiping your tears.

Verse 51

I recollect my embracing you which had the hindrance of your hands folded (in front of me) like the *svastika* fashion (and so) was not tight, and which was beautiful due to non obstruction on your part (while embracing) because of your timidity. Due to the close juxtaposition (of the two faces) the ornamental drawings made of kastūri on your cheeks disappeared while you turned your face sideways.

Verse 52

When the hand was placed on the knot of the waist-cloth, enjoying the delight, your two eyes, because of their slight closure, imitated the thinness of the autumn-river; your hand, while trying to arrest that (act of mine), has become languid because of the excessive pleasure. (and) became comparable to the tender leaf touched by the golden rays of the sun.

Verse 53

After the sport was over, owing to fear, with your slender parts that had become immobile, as if undergoing suffering, you covered your face with the upper garment which covers the breasts and .... when I gently waved with the end of the upper-garment, you closed your eyes as though due to shyness and slowly fell asleep.

Verse 54

The eye-lids that stopped fluttering as though as a sequel to the closing of the eyes, the unguent (made of a yellow fragrant wood) on the neck having been erased by the perspiration caused by exertion, the beauty of the parts of the body that came to be exposed when the dress gave way, the body that has become exhausted, the conduct of you towards such a dear one like me were being (now) recollected by me.

Verse 55

The unguents smeared (all over the body) had slipped (due to perspiration) in the shallow parts; (your) neck, resembling the conch shell, was impressed with my bracelet during (my) embrace; your body, due to rolling in the couch, was impressed with the marks of the waves of cloth; your disposition at the end of sleep had half-ridden apathy and some splendour.

Verse 56

"The face is bloomy as well as dejected; the locks of hair are loosened; the forehead has its mark erased by sweat; the smile is only for the namesake; in the eyes are seen a shadow indicating delight". Thus having been told of your being enjoyed (by your love), by your mates, you became very shy of your acts in secret.

Verse 57

O young one! Do you remember what all the acts you did in irregular order. After having drunk the nectar of the *kalpa*-tree, during our amorous sports prattled by you in my very presence after leaving your shyness when words came delayed and were innocently sweet, the movements of your steps and your weakened parts are slackened due to intoxication.

Verse 58

The smoothness in every part was revealed like the pollen dust of the fresh *champaka* flowers; the brightness of the two eyes was like the novel moon-light enjoyed by the lilies; in the lotus-like face the splendour of smile, was as if plucked from the intoxication of wine; artfulness from your heart, O one with the face of a moon! was reflected as though from a crystal.

Verse 59

These things are for my satisfaction; attractive mansion; ring covered with gems; bed (smoothened) without (any pricking material like) hair, status of mine ....; superior sandal (paste); nice clothes; garlands that are fragrant; vessel filled with betel nut and leaves.

Verse 60

I like these things : Secret underground-chamber; spouts of (incense) smoke emanating from the holes of a covered-vessel; stone lamps filled with incense oil, thick

cotton clothes, oven with fire burning on yellow fragrant wood, *tāmbūla* mixed with *kastūri*, and O! beloved one! you, with the warm breasts of fresh youth.

Verse 61

Oh beautiful faced one! I will spend my time in the rainy season like the following. Mansion with baths in which water spout through elephant-faced taps(?), charming seclusion, song sung in *Malahari* rāga, nice and beautiful dress, you with pot-like breasts which are well developed in your youthful form and to be enjoyed by me at my will.

Verse 62

While I was thus often enjoying similar pleasures alas! Oh my dear, how this separation came to me all of a sudden? While (he was) uttering these words the yaksha showed his real form like the flash of lightning and removing the veil of magic united the (Siddha) couple and after whole heartedly blessing them, granted them all their desires.

This(work) is by Narasiṁha-ṛishi (the poet Narasiṁha), the son of Viśvēśvara.

INDEX

By S. Subramonia Iyer, M.A., Ph.D.

The figures refer to pages. '*n*' after a figure to foot-notes, and *add* to additions and corrections. The following other abbreviations are also used : *au.* = author; *ca.* = capital; *ch* = chief; *chron* = chronicle, *ci.* = city; *co.* = country; *com.* = composer; *de* = deity; *di.* division; *do* = ditto; *dt.* = district, *dy* = dynasty; *E.* = Eastern; *engr.* = engraver; *ep* = epithet; *f.* = family; *fe.* = female; *feu* = feudatory, *gen* = *general*, *gov.* = governor; *gr.* ; grant, grants; *hist* = historical, *ins.* = inscription, inscriptions; *k* = king, *loc* = locality; *l.m* = linear measure, land measure, *m* = male; *min.* = minister; *mo* = mountain; *myth* = mythological, *n.* = name; *N.* = Northern, *off.* = office, officer; *peo* = people; *pl* = plate; *pls* = plates; *pr* = prince, princess; *prov* = province; *q.* = queen; *reg.* = region; *rel* = religion, *religious*, *ri.* = river, S = Southern, *s.a* = same as; *sur* = surname; *te* = temple; *Tel* = Telugu; *t d* = territorial division; *tit* = title; *tk.* = taluk; *tn* = town; *vi* = village; *W* = Western; *wk* = work; *wt.* = weight.

A

C

O

P

S

T

U


but a block"
GOVT. OF INDIA